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February 2nd, 1881.

THE

Chinese Recorder

AND

MISSIONARY JOURNAL.

VOL. XII. MAY–JUNE, 1881. No. 3

THE STATE RELIGION OF CHINA.

BY INQUIRER.

1. *The Chinese Repository.* 20 Vols. Canton: 1832–51.
2. *The Chinese; A general Description of China and its Inhabitants.* By John Francis Davis, Esq., F.R.S. London: 1840.
3. *China; its State and Prospects.* By W. H. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society. London: 1840.
4. *The Middle Kingdom; A Survey of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants.* By S. Wells Williams. New York: 1847.
5. *Religion in China; A brief account of the three Religions of the Chinese.* By Joseph Edkins, D.D. Second Edition. London: 1878.
6. *Confucianism and Taoism.* By Robert K. Douglas, of the British Museum, and Prof. of Chinese at King's College London. London: 1879.
7. *The Religions of China.* By James Legge, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature in the University of Oxford. London: 1880.

EVERY thing connected with an ancient and populous Empire, is a matter of great interest to all students of the institutions that are found among the various nations of the world. It is a generally accepted proposition that no institution exerts so great an influence upon the character of a people as the prevailing religion.

These several works on the general history and institutions of China, have devoted some chapters to the special consideration of the *religions* of this people; while the other volumes are exclusively occupied with this subject. It is not my purpose at this time to consider the three religions of China. I restrict myself to the consideration of *The State Religion* of this kingdom. It would appear to most persons, that, when the religion of a people is set forth in a series of Books, which have come down from the earliest ages of that people; that, when there is a ritual for the regulation of the services which are established by Imperial authority; and, when this religion is open to the observation and study of all its ceremonies and worship, which are thus authoritatively prescribed, there would be no difference of

opinion, among the students of their history, in regard to the fundamentals of this system of worship. It is, however, a matter of history that widely different views have been entertained in regard thereto; and that a long continued discussion was maintained, by those who thus held different views, during the whole of the 17th century, on such *essential points* of this religion as the following, viz.; To what object, or Being, is the Imperial worship offered, and what is the nature of the rites which are observed in honor of the sage Confucius, and deceased Parents, by the Chinese officers, scholars and people. The exact points thus discussed during the 17th century may be best stated in the language of the Historians of that period. The Protestant writer Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, states them thus. "This controversy may be all embraced under two heads. (1). The Chinese call the supreme god whom they worship, Tien and Shang-ti; that is, in their language, Heaven. The Jesuits transferred this name to the God of Christians; whence it seemed to follow, that they thought there was *no difference* between the chief god of the Chinese, and the infinitely perfect God of the Christians; or that the Chinese had the same ideas of their Tien or Heaven as the Christians have of God. The first question therefore is whether the Chinese understand by the words specified, the visible material heavens, or the Lord of heaven; that eternal and all perfect *Being* whose throne is in the heavens; that is, such a God as Christianity presents for our worship. The Jesuits maintain the latter opinion. (2). The second question is, whether those honors, which the Chinese are required to pay to the souls of their deceased ancestors, and all the literati to Confucius, the oracle of the nation, are civil honors, or religious; whether they are sacrifices, or, only regulations established for state purposes. The Jesuits say that the Chinese do not offer religious worship to the souls of their ancestors, nor to Confucius; and hence they conclude that it is allowable for Christians to observe these sacred rites of their country." Mosheim's Ecclesiastial History, New York 1844, Vol. II. pp. 253-254. These points are stated by the Roman Catholic Historian M. L. Abbe Huc in his "Christianity in China, &c.," as follows: "Father Ricci thought Tien or Heaven, as conceived by the educated classes, was not the material and visible one, but the true God, the Lord of Heaven, the Supreme Being, invisible and spiritual, of infinite perfection, the Creator and Preserver of all things; the only God, in fact. He was also persuaded that the sacrifices offered to ancestors were purely of a civil nature, and had nothing whatever of a religious or idolatrous signification." Vol. II. pp. 225-29. Father Longobardi, who was selected by Father Ricci to succeed him in the administration

of the Jesuit Mission, "looked at all these Chinese customs from a very different point of view. The esteem that he had felt for the talents and virtue of Father Ricci had induced him, before, to suspend his judgments; but when he found himself placed at the head of the mission, he considered it his duty to examine this important question with greater attention. He set himself seriously therefore to his study of the works of Confucius, and of his most celebrated commentators, and consulted such of the literary men as could throw light upon the subject, and in whom he could place confidence. Father Longobardi wrote a book on the subject, in which it was examined to the bottom; and in which he came to the conclusion, that the Chinese, in reality, recognized no divinity but Heaven, and the general effect that it had upon the beings of the universe; and the customs of China appeared to Longobardi, and the missionaries that took his side, as an idolatry utterly incompatible with the sanctity of Christianity." pp. 229-30. The dissension on this subject, which was known by the designation "the question of the Rites," commenced amongst the Jesuit missionaries *themselves*, about the year 1610, before the arrival of missionaries of the other orders. Jesuits of talents and learning were found on opposite sides in this discussion. "We have already said that from the very commencement of the Society of Jesus in China, there had arisen among them differences of opinion from which had originated two schools, that of Father Ricci who was disposed to allow the widest toleration of the rites of the Chinese; and that of Father Longobardi, who saw nothing but superstition in the worship paid to Heaven, to Confucius, and their ancestors." Vol. III. p. 2. On the arrival of the Missionaries of the Dominicans and Franciscans "they did not join the school of Father Ricci which had been considerably in the majority, but they reinforced that of Father Longobardi." p. 3. It was in 1633 that some of these orders arrived in Fohkien from Manila. When the missionaries from the French Society of Foreign Missions arrived in China in 1684 they also, after due examination of the subject, concurred in the views of Longobardi.

This controversy between some of the Jesuits on the one side, and others of the Jesuits, supported by the Dominicans, (who were considered the ablest theologians of the Catholic church in that century), Franciscans, and the French missionaries, (some of whom were Doctors of the Sorbonne), on the other side, continued from 1610 to 1704. In 1699, Pope Innocent XII. appointed "a Congregation" composed of several cardinals and other learned men to investigate the subject thoroughly, in order that a *final* decision might be given in a matter which had been so long under discussion and concerning

which temporizing decisions had hitherto been given. This Congregation had presented to it the views of both parties fully; and most of the written papers and books, which the discussion had called forth during the ninety years of its continuance, were laid before it for examination.

After a long protracted consideration of the subject, and a full examination of all the books and writings in reference to it, which were submitted to them, the Congregation presented its report to Pope Clement XI, (who had succeeded Innocent XII.) in Nov. 1704. In accordance with the conclusions arrived at by the Congregation, and the reasons therefore given in the report, Clement XI. issued his decree of 1704 as follows:—"It was with this view, that, on the 20th Nov., 1704, we confirmed and approved by apostolic authority the answers given by the Congregation of our venerable brothers the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church (committed and deputed by the same authority to be Inquisitors General against heresy throughout the Christian republic) touching this same affair of China. After a long examination begun under our predecessor Innocent XII, of happy memory, and after the arguments on both sides had been heard, as well as the sentiments of a great number of theologians and other qualified persons.

The decisions given in their answers are the following:—"That since in China, the most high and good God cannot be named by the names given to him in Europe, we must, to express our idea of him, employ the words Tien Tchou, that is to say the Lord of Heaven, now for a long period received and approved by the missionaries and the faithful in Christ; but that the names "Tien" Heaven [in the Latin coelum], and Shangti, Sovereign Emperor, must be absolutely rejected. That for this reason it must not be permitted that tablets bearing the Chinese inscription "King Tien," adore Heaven, should be placed in Christian churches nor retained there for the future, should they have been previously so placed." Vol. III. pp. 409-10. This answer was evidently given in consequence of the proofs supplied to the Commission for investigating the subject that Tien, as the object the Chinese worship, is the visible Heaven or sky regarded as a god. It was thus forbidden to be used to designate the true God, because of the liability that those who had been *accustomed* to use it in this way, would, if it was used in speaking of the God of the Christians, suppose that the true God was the same as deified Heaven. That this was a proper consideration on which to base their decision must be evident to every reflecting mind. For it is a most universal law of the association of ideas in the use of words, that the *same name* or designa-

tion refers to the *same person* or object. The strength and clearness of their conviction in the minds of the congregation that Heaven meant the deified sky are manifest from the fact that the decision required the removal of an inscription "Adore Heaven" which had been given by the Emperor Kang Hi to the church recently erected in Peking, which removal would of course give great offence to the Emperor Kang Hi who had presented it.

This decree of the Pope is, therefore, not to be regarded as one that is to be accepted because of Papal authority. But the conclusions arrived at in this report and embodied in the Pope's Bull commend themselves to the acceptance of the Christian world by the most weighty considerations that can influence the judgment of mankind. The Congregation was composed of competent and able men. Both parties were fairly and fully heard. Time enough was taken by the members to become acquainted with the whole subject in all its details and bearings. During these ninety years of discussion the Jesuits, who pursued the temporizing policy to secure the easy introduction of Christianity, had basked in the sunshine of Imperial favor; they had been at court all the time, casting cannon for the Emperor, surveying the empire and making maps of all the provinces, acting as his embassadors in important embassies, filling offices of state, correcting his astronomical tables and preparing astronomical instruments, &c., &c.; some of them were made grandees of the state, and their ancestors were ennobled with great ceremony and parade as if they were Chinese. While the members of the other party, whether of the Society of Jesus, or connected with the other Orders, had been banished from Court and many of them had endured persecution. These latter were, in all respects, fully equal to their opponents in Chinese learning, and *much their superiors* in devotedness and zeal as Christian Missionaries. If the decision was in favor of the temporizing policy of the Ricci school, a continuance of Imperial favor might be expected; and a consequent rapid spread of Roman Catholicism. But if the decision was against that policy then the Imperial displeasure would be manifested, the missionaries would all be driven away from the capital, and the Christians persecuted. This decision was given against the course hitherto pursued by most of the Jesuit missionaries in China, and in which they were supported by the main body of the Society of Jesus in Europe, when that Society was at the time of its greatest prestige and influence. The success, under such circumstances, by the school of Longobardi, is an illustration of the truth of the adage "Truth is mighty and will prevail." A decision arrived at after such a complete investigation of the subject, and in the face of such trying and

disastrous consequences, has a high claim to be regarded as one given from a deep conviction of its justice and righteousness for if the decision had been given with a view to promote the worldly success and outward enlargement of the missions in China, it would have been just the opposite from what it was. This decision was not only accepted by all the missionaries of the Roman Catholic and Greek Church, but by all the early Protestant missionaries, as the Rev. Drs. Morrison, Milne, Medhurst, Bridgeman, Abeel, Boone and others, after full examination of the question by themselves; and also by other sinologists as the Hon. J. R. Morrison, Sir John Davis, and S. W. Williams, LL.D. The distinguished Lexicographer and Translator, Dr. Morrison, in the last year of his life, published, from the collected statutes of this Dynysty, a statement in Vol. III. page 49 of the *Chinese Repository*, a list of the objects of state worship. No missionary since his time has had a better opportunity of studying the subject than Dr. Morrison had. He had access to nearly all the publications of the Jesuits: he had a better Chinese Library than any one has had since. His linguistic studies in the preparation of his Dictionary, and in his work as Translator to the East India Company, and to the Embassy to Peking under Lord Amherst, all afforded him great facilities of investigation. He states that the whole number of objects worshipped *are thirty*, of which the first and chief is the Heaven or sky. They are divided into three classes. The imperial ritual prescribes the sacrifices that are to be offered to each class, and to each object of each class. In the first class there are four objects. These are entitled to receive the great Sacrifices. "The first of these is" Tien, the heaven or sky. This object is otherwise called the azure heavens; and the imperial concave expanse. The 2nd is the Earth; the 3rd is the Imperial Ancestors; the 4th are the gods of the land and the grain." The objects which receive the *medium* sacrifices are 5th, the sun; 6th, the moon; 7th, the manes of the Kings and Emperors of former ages; 8th, the ancient master Confucius; 9th, the Patron of agriculture; 10th, the ancient Patron of the manufacture of silk; 11th, the heaven-gods; 12th, the earth-gods; 13th, the god of the passing year. Those who receive the small sacrifice are 14th, the ancient Patron of the healing art and other benefactors of the race; 15th, the stars; 16th, the clouds; 17th, the rain; 18th, the wind; 19th, the thunder; 20th, the four great mountains of China; 21st, the four seas; 22nd, the four Rivers; 23rd, the famous hills; 24th, the great streams of water; 25th, military flags and banners; 26th, the god of the road where an army may pass; 27th, the god of cannon; 28th, the gods of the gates; 29th, the queen goddess of the ground; 30th, the north pole &c."

Sir John Davis in his work on China copies from this statement and accepts this statement, thus extracted from the collected statutes, of the objects of state worship as correct.

The Rev. Dr. Medhurst, in the chapter of his book which relates to religion, while he does not refer specifically to the state religion says: "There are, in the works of Confucius some allusions to heaven, as the presiding power of nature, and to fate as the determiner of all things; but he does not appear to attribute originality to the one, nor rationality to the other; and thus his system remains destitute of the main truth, which lies at the basis of all truth, viz: the existence of a self-existent, eternal and all wise God." p. 186. "This expression "equal to heaven" is oft repeated by the Chinese with reference to Confucius; and there can be no doubt that they mean thereby to place their favorite sage on *a level* with the powers of nature, and in fact to deify him." p. 152-3.

Dr. Williams in his work, which has come to be considered as the standard work on China, pp. 233-4 of Vol. II. accepts the statement as translated by Dr. Morrison in regard to the objects of state worship, as the *official* and *authoritative* statement.

Thus it appears that the decision of the Congregation which was appointed to consider the question of rites was accepted as correct by Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Protestant Missionaries and Historians till 1852. In his Book "The notions of the Chinese concerning God and spirits," the Rev. Dr. Legge expressed himself as follows: after quoting some of the prayers and odes which were used at the sacrifice offered to Heaven at the winter solstice, as given in the collected statutes of the Ming dynasty, he says, "Let the descriptions which are contained in these sacred songs be considered without prejudice, and I am not apprehensive as to the answer which will be made to the question 'Who is he whom the Chinese thus worship?' I am confident the Christian world will agree with me in saying 'This God is our God.'" And in his recent letter to Prof. Müller, he says "My own view in opposition to Inquirer is that Tien is the name, not of the chief god of the Chinese, but the name by which they speak of Him, who is the one Supreme Being over all. I maintain that when they use the name in this way, they do not think of the material heavens at all." See *Chinese Recorder* 1881, p. 39. Thus Dr. Legge expresses his views. As I understand his language, he holds the same view in reference to the object worshipped as the Ricci school. He defended this view in his book on "The Notions of the Chinese" &c. He has reproduced and defended this opinion in the Book quoted at the head of this article. It is my purpose to confine the discussion

in the remaining pages of this paper to these points, viz, what Being or object is worshipped by the Emperor of China under the designation of Heaven; and second, is their worship monotheistic? For in connection with the opinion that by Heaven is meant the true God, Dr. Legge holds the opinion that the worship by the Chinese Emperor is monotheistic. As the view of the second question will help to arrive at a conclusion on the first question, I will consider the latter question first.

At p. 16 of his Book on the Religions of China, Dr. Legge says "Five thousand years ago the Chinese were monotheists;" at p. 23 the heading of a paragraph reads "The Shu King and its evidence concerning the worship of Yao and Shun is a monotheism, with an inferior worship of spirits." At p. 51 "The *original monotheism of* the Chinese remains in the *state worship of to-day.*" In opposition to these statements I will show that the Chinese are Polytheistic, and that in their state religion they worship a plurality of objects. It is here necessary to define the terms in use. Monotheism is defined in Webster's Dictionary thus. "The doctrine or belief in the existence of one God only." In Chambers' Dictionary it is defined thus "The belief in only one God." Polytheism is thus defined by Webster quoting Stillingfleet "The doctrine of a plurality of gods, or invisible beings, superior to man and having an agency in the government of the world." A distinguished writer in Johnson's Cyclopedia defines polytheism thus, "Polytheism distributes the perfections and functions of the infinite God among many limited gods." Vol. II. p. 587. Let us see what the Chinese themselves say in regard to this matter. The ritual of this dynasty, as established by Imperial authority as quoted above says, there *are thirty persons or things,* that are to be sacrificed to. Sacrifice is considered the highest act of worship. Of these, *four* are entitled to *equal honors,* and receive the *great sacrifice*. The worship of these many objects has come down from the very earliest times. The inauguration of Shun, who succeeded Yao "took place in the temple of the accomplished ancestor." This implies the existence of ancestral worship at that time. Then, after his accession to the throne, "He sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms to Shang-ti; sacrificed to the six objects of Honor; offered the appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers, and extended his worship to the host of the shin." The Shu King, as quoted by Dr. Legge in his Lectures p. 24 reads "Thereafter in his tours of inspection, he sacrificed, "presenting a burnt sacrifice to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers." On his return therefrom "he went to the temple of the Cultivated Ancestor, and offered a single bullock."

p. 25. Notwithstanding these explicit statements of the authorized Ritual, and of the Shu King as to the plurality of objects which are worshipped, Dr. Legge appears to hold to a *monotheism* different from that implied by the meaning of the word as given above. He says "The Shu King, and its evidence concerning the worship of Yao and Shun as *a* monotheism, with an inferior worship of spirits." It is not clear what is his meaning in this sentence; but it would appear that he holds that where there is the worship of a chief Power with a worship to *subordinate* objects it is still a monotheism, especially if he withholds the name gods from the subordinate objects. This view of the meaning of monotheism is of course different from the definition given above from recognised authorities. It is also the fact that in every heathen nation, the gods which have been worshipped have been of different classes and positions. Among the Greeks and Romans there were the Celestial, the Terrestrial, and Infernal gods; gods of the sea, and of the land, of the hills and the rivers; the greater and the less gods. The Lares and Penates of the Romans were included among the gods. But I will now proceed to show that there are four persons or things in their Pantheon that are entitled to the same honor and sacrifice. They are Heaven, Earth, the Imperial Ancestors and the gods of the land and of the grain. The Imperial statutes explicitly so state it. In the letter to Prof. Müller see *Chinese Recorder* for 1880, p. 175, I have quoted from the Book of Rites a passage in which it is stated that the sacrifice to Earth is made equal to that to Heaven, "because the merit of Earth *is equal to that of Heaven.*" But not only is it said that the Imperial Ancestors receive the *great* sacrifice as Heaven and Earth do, but they are the *joint* and *equal* recipients of the sacrifice offered to Heaven at the Winter Solstice and to Earth at the Summer Solstice. The tablets of the Imperial Ancestors are placed on the *highest* platform of the altar in immediate proximity to the tablet to Heaven, while the tablets of the secondary recipients are placed on the platform next below. The *equality* of the ancestors with Heaven is indicated by the place the characters for them occupy on the page of the ritual. They are placed on a level with that of Heaven. This is also stated formally in the language used in reference thereto: They are said to *p'ei* Heaven 配天 *i.e.* "to be the mate or equal of Heaven in receiving the sacrifices." Dr. Morrison in his Dictionary defines the expression *p'ei hiang* "an equal enjoyment of sacrificial rites with Heaven and Earth." Dr. Legge at page 211 of the Shu King says: "*p'ei Shang-ti* 配上帝 has two meanings. It is spoken of the *virtue* of a Sovereign, so admirable in the present or the past, that he can be described as the mate of

Shang-ti; as a sovereign on earth, the one correlate of the Supreme Sovereign above. It is spoken, also, of the *honours* of a departed sovereign, *exalted to association with Shang-ti* in the great sacrificial services rendered to Him by the reigning Emperor." It is to this last use of the word that Dr. Morrison refers. This equality of the Imperial ancestors is constantly referred to at the time of the offering of the sacrifices. Again at p. 478 Dr. Legge says: "P'ei Tien declares the fact of their being associated with Heaven in the sacrifices to it. In the present dynasty all its departed Emperors are so honored at the great sacrificial services." In the Shi King at p. 576 Ode 7, he writes thus, this is "an ode appropriate to a sacrifice to King Wan, *associated with Heaven*, in the hall of audience. We must suppose that the princes are all assembled at the royal court, and that the king receives them in the famous hall. A sacrifice is there presented by him to Shang-ti, and *with him is associated* King Wan, the two (viz., Heaven and King Wan) being the fountain from which, and the channel through which, the Sovereignty had come to the House of Chow." At p. 330 of the Shu King, we find this narrative, "Two years after the conquest of the Shang dynasty, the King (*i.e.* King Woo) fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two dukes said 'let us reverently consult the tortoise concerning the King;' but the duke of Chow said, 'you may not so distress our former King.' He then took the business on himself, and made three altars on the same cleared space.* * * The convex symbols were put on *their altars*, and he himself held his mace, while he addressed the Kings T'ae, Ke and Wan. The grand historian, *by his order, wrote* on tablets the prayer to the following effect:—A. B. your chief descendant is suffering a severe and dangerous sickness; if you three Kings have in heaven the charge of watching over him, *Heaven's* great son, let me, Tan, be a substitute for his person.* * * Oh do not let the Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground [*i.e.* by his death] and all our former kings will also have a perpetual reliance and resort. I will now seek for your orders from the great tortoise. If you grant *what I request*, I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for the issue. If you do not grant it, I will put them by. The King then divined by the three tortoises, and all were favorable. He took a key, opened and looked at the *oracular* responses which were also favorable. He said according to the form of the prognostic, the King will take no injury. I, who am but a child, have got *his appointment renewed by the three kings*, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have to wait the issue. They can provide for our one man." This passage throws great light on this whole subject. The *appoint-*

ment of the Ruler or King is constantly spoken of as made by Heaven; here the *renewal* of the appointment is ascribed to those ancestors the three kings. This shows what is meant by their association with Heaven in managing the affairs of the Empire. The recovering of the King is also ascribed to them. If this narrative does not bring to us the statement of divine worship rendered to the souls of the deceased kings, then language cannot convey the idea. In Livy's History, book I. chap. 32, as quoted by Dr. Medhurst in his "Inquiry &c.," page 75, we have an example of prayer addressed to the deified Romulus, designated Quirinus, in conjunction with other gods. The statement reads thus "Audi, Jupiter et tu Juno, Quirine, Diïque omnes coelestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni audite." Was this praying to these various gods together with a deified mortal, the founder of the city of Rome, the worship of *many gods*, even though Jupiter was the chief god and the patron god of Rome? The general consent of historians so considers it. For the same reasons which lead to this conclusion in reference to the Roman worship, this joint worship of Heaven, the Earth and the imperial ancestors must be regarded as a worship of a plurality of gods by the Chinese. The distinguished Emperor Kang Hi, the most enlightened one that ever occupied the throne of China, in his will and testament, ascribed all the prosperity of his long and prosperous reign to the "invisible help of Heaven, Earth, his Ancestors and the gods of the land and the grain." * Each Emperor of this dynasty as he ascended the throne announced his ascension to the throne to "Heaven, Earth, the Imperial Ancestors, and to the gods of the land and grain."† (See *pamphlet on "Shang-ti" by Inquirer*, p. 33). How widely different is all this from the *monotheism* of Western nations. Their Rulers say "By the grace of God, Emperor, &c." The national anthem sounds clear "God save the Queen," and the other declaration "In God we trust, &c." No, no, according to the common and generally *accepted* use of language the Imperial worship of China is *not* monotheistic but *polytheistic*. It cannot be compared with the monotheism of Mohammedism any more than it can be with that of Christianity.

At page 30 of the "Lectures" Dr. Legge attempts to explain away the statement of the Classics that the Chinese regard Heaven and Earth as two divinities, quoting a passage from the Shu at p. 283 as follows:—"Its first Sovereign (B.C. 1122) in a Great Declaration made to his adherents when he had taken the

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* 仰荷天地宗廟社稷默佑. 見康熙上諭.

† 謹祭告天地宗廟社稷. 見道光登極詔又道光皇太后六旬萬壽詔又同治上兩宮皇太后尊號詔.

field against the last Ruler of Yin, said "Heaven *and* Earth is the Parent (lit. the father and the mother) of all creatures, and of all creatures, man is the most intelligent. The sincerely intelligent (among men) becomes the great sovereign, and the great sovereign is the Parent (lit. the father and mother) of the people. But now, Shaw, the King of Shang, does not reverence Heaven *above*, and inflicts calamities on the people below." Heaven and Earth pass immediately, you perceive, into the one name Heaven; notwithstanding the dualistic form of the expression, it is only *one* that is the parent of all." In a note he adds "Heaven and Earth is no more plural than is the sovereign who is also the father and mother of the people." This must appear to all readers as very *special pleading* in advocacy of an opinion. Heaven *and* Earth nominatives to a verb in the singular, &c., &c. But let us see how the Chinese understand the matter; whether they consider Heaven and Earth are two distinct gods or only one. At p. 280 of Chi. Clas., Vol. I., we read: "When the completely sincere man is able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven *and* Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion."* The function of Heaven, as one of the Parents of all things, is stated to be that of transforming: the function of Earth is nourishing. The man who can assist them in their functions forms with Heaven and Earth a trio. According to common arithmetic it requires *two* and one to make three. But according to Dr. Legge's reasoning as above given—that Heaven and Earth are only one,—*one* and *one* make three, a conclusion from which the Prof. of Mathematics in Oxford, would probably dissent. The explanation to this passage of "The Mean" reads: "The sincere man, with Heaven and Earth, stands even and makes *three*. Heaven's place is above, Earth's place is below, the sincere man's place is between; therefore it is said they stand even and make three." † The distinct duality of Heaven and Earth as two objects of worship is clearly expressed in an ode which is sung during the sacrifice to Earth at the summer solstice, which reads thus: "The brilliant flags follow the cloudy way; the flying dragon mounts the high heaven; the virtues and actions of Earth are perfect; by thy care over all within the four seas there are no troubles; the Compeer of the Imperial Arch, thou art [one of] the Two great Ones; thou dost keep in peace the people of the Earth below."‡

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* 則可以與天地參矣、四書中庸.

† 註解、與天地參、謂與天地竝立、爲三也、天位上、地位下、至誠分位雲配中、路遵飛龍兩大、故曰竝立爲三、見味根錄.

‡ 靈旗無塵、皇穹分綏下土、昊陰儀粹分蒸民、德純眷清見大祀、四海地祇分樂章.

Having thus proved, by these incontrovertible proofs, that the worship of the state religion of China is polytheistic, I proceed to consider what Being or object is referred to in this worship by the designation Tien or Heaven. Dr. Legge says in his letter to Prof. Müller (see *Chinese Recorder* for 1881, p. 38) "let the reader of this letter be aware that all he was entitled to say in giving an account of my belief as to Thien was, that the Being indicated by that name was the true God." And again at p. 39 he says "My own view is,—that Thien is the name, not of the chief god of the Chinese, but the name by which they speak of *Him*, who is the One Supreme Being over all. I maintain that when they use the name in this way, they do not think of the 'material Heavens' at all." Here I join issue with the learned Doctor fair and square, and say that when they speak of the Ruling Power by the designation Heaven, they *always* think of the visible Heavens deified, and of *nothing else*. That this is what they think of and refer to, I will prove by their own statements and declarations. But before proceeding to quote these statements, there are some points that I wish to refer to as preliminary to a full and clear understanding of the matter. First, I remark that Dr. Legge's opinion is very improbable from the fact that no other nation, of either ancient or modern times, since the dispersion of mankind, have had the knowledge of the true God except as they have received it from the Revelation given to men in the S. S. of the Old and New Testaments. These Scriptures state that, at the time of Abraham, all nations had become idolaters having lost the knowledge of the true God. St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans explains how this sad result came to pass. "Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools. And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things." Rom. i.: 21-23.

The opinion which I maintain, that Tien refers to deified Heaven, is supported by this fact. In other lands the word for Heaven in three several languages has been used to designate a controlling Power, an object of worship. This use of the word Heaven has existed among the Hindus, the Babylonians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians, &c. In the history and mythology of all these nations the word Heaven has been understood to designate the material Heaven as the object of worship. It is only in the lands where the Revelation, which has been given to men in the S. S., has changed the former use of the language, that Heaven has come to be used as a *symbol* of the

Spiritual Being, who is the Creator and Preserver of Heaven and of all things.

I wish all my readers to bear in mind that this is not a discussion of the so-called "term question." While I prefer to use Shin, in connection with the distinctive name Jehovah, in making known the true God to this people, many of those who prefer to use Shang-ti for that purpose, agree with me in the matter now under discussion. One of the most earnest and able advocates of the use of Shang-ti, in teaching the Chinese the knowledge of the true God, says "Shang-ti is the word we find in the language for the Highest. It is *not* the Jehovah of the Jews, nor the Theos of the Greeks, nor the God of English Christians; and at the same time, it is not the Jove of the Romans, or the Baal of the Canaanites, or the Great Spirit of the Red Indians." p. 56. And again "Confucius, on the other hand, did not initiate the practice of calling Heaven personified Shang-ti. The usage came down with the language from unfathomable antiquity. Heaven, Ti and Shang-ti were used almost synonymously in the old *Ballads* which he recited, and which he cherished as perhaps the most precious heritage of antiquity." (See "*The Question of Terms Simplified, by Rev. John Chalmers,*" *LL.D.*, p. 58.) From these quotations it appears that Dr. Chalmers agrees with me on both points of this controversy, viz., that Heaven in the Chinese Classics means the visible heavens deified; for "Heaven personified" is the same as Heaven regarded as a god, and in this also, that Shang-ti is *not* the Jehovah of the Jews nor the God of Christians.

Another point which I advert to is this. The matter to be considered is what *being* or *object* is referred to by the designation Heaven. In connection with this, it is to be considered what is the relation of the term Shang-ti to this object or being. Dr. Legge, in the Index of Chinese Characters and Phrases in Shu King, under the word Thien, says "The most common use of Heaven is for the supreme governing *Power*. It is employed in this way more than 150 times." It is used in this way also about 100 times in the Shi King. Dr. Legge says in the preface to the Sacred Books of China, Oxford, 1879: "The term Heaven, Thien, is used *everywhere* in the Chinese Classics for the Supreme *Power*, ruling and governing all the affairs of men with an omnipotent and omniscient righteousness and goodness." p. xxiv. In his Lectures he says "The application of Thien must have been to the visible sky, but all along the course of history it has been used as we use Heaven, where we intend the ruling Power, whose providence embraces all. p. 8. In his letter to Prof. Müller he says, "My own view is, that Thien is the name by which they speak of Him who is

the One Supreme Being over all." *Chinese Recorder*, p. 39. From these quotations it appears that Dr. Legge and I agree that Heaven is the name, *the distinctive name* of the Being who exercises the chief power, and who is referred to in the Sacred Books of China. Heaven is also the distinctive name of the Being referred to in the Imperial ritual and the worship of the state religion. The sacrifices are designated the sacrifices to Tien or Heaven. The altar is called the Altar to Heaven. The Emperor from his being appointed by this Power is styled the Son of Heaven. The throne as being assigned to him by this Power is designated the Heaven-conferred seat. The punishment of a bad ruler by displacing him, is spoken of as the Heaven-appointed punishment. I hope my readers will excuse this enlargement upon this point which appears so self evident and so universally admitted, because it is one of very *great importance*. See further proofs in letter to Prof. Müller, *Chinese Recorder*, 1880, pp. 166-7.

The next point to this, is to state what is the relation of the designations Ti and Shang-ti to the Being who is styled Heaven. Kang Hi's Dictionary and the Book of History defines it thus, "Shang-ti is Heaven."* The Fung-shen Book says "Shang-ti is *another name* for Heaven."† In the commentaries on the Classics these definitions are repeated very frequently—sometimes in one form, and sometimes in the other. "Shang-ti is Heaven." "Shang-ti and Heaven are one and the same." "Shang-ti is another name for Heaven." In his Lectures, at p. 10, Dr. Legge says "Heaven is styled Shang-ti, and as frequently Ti alone, without the Shang." Throughout the Shu and the Shih, the ancient Books of History and Poetry, the names Thien, Ti and Shang-ti are constantly *interchanged*, in the course of the same chapter or paragraph, often in the same sentence. Dr. Chalmers says "Confucius did not initiate the practice of calling Heaven personified *Shang-ti*. The usage *came down* with the language from unfathomable antiquity." "Terms Simplified," p. 58. Dr. Medhurst says, "Ti or Shang-ti is said to be synonymous with Heaven." See Inquiry, p. 19. I concur entirely in this general *consensus* of the usage of Shang-ti as another name for or the synonym of Heaven. Heaven is the name of the Being, and Ti and Shang-ti are used as other names to designate that Being. I call attention to the fact that it is not once intimated in any book, or stated by any native or foreign authority that Heaven is another name for Shang-ti.

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* 上帝、天也、見康熙字典又見史記正義.

† 上帝者、天之別名也、見封禪書宗祀文王於明堂以配上帝句註.

This usage of the words may be shewn by a familiar illustration. During the time that the late distinguished prelate, the Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Wilberforce was the Bishop of Oxford, the name of the prelate was Dr. Wilberforce. In all his diocese the Bishop was the synonym, or another name for Dr. Wilberforce, and everywhere the Bishop of Oxford referred *distinctively* to Dr. Wilberforce. Hence Dr. Wilberforce, the Bishop, and the Bishop of Oxford could be, and they were, used *interchangeably*, often in the same chapter, or paragraph, and even the same sentence. It could be said during his incumbency, that "the Bishop of Oxford spoke in the House on this question with that fervent energy which Dr. Wilberforce knows so well how to put into his speeches; and we need not say the Bishop was listened to with the greatest attention." Whatever duties or official acts Dr. Wilberforce might engage in or perform, in speaking of them, the name Bishop might everywhere be used instead of his proper name; as, the Bishop ordained Mr. Blank as a Deacon; the Bishop ordained Mr. Blank as a Priest; the Bishop suspended Mr. Blank from being a Priest for immoral conduct. In all such sentences this title is used referring to Dr. Wilberforce. In using this name nothing could be said to be done by the Bishop which would not apply if the proper name Dr. Wilberforce was used instead of the synonym. It could *not* be said under the circumstances referred to, that, the Bishop ordained Dr. Wilberforce; the Bishop officiated at the marriage of Dr. Wilberforce. Because it could not be said that Dr. Wilberforce ordained Dr. Wilberforce, meaning himself. From this illustration it is evident that the name Bishop, or the Bishop of Oxford, referred only to Dr. Wilberforce, and that it had no application, during his incumbency, to any one except Dr. Wilberforce. Nor could the Bishop be understood to have any separate existence or position, separate or independent of the designated person Dr. Wilberforce. So in the other case, Heaven is the proper name of the Being referred to in the Classics, and the Imperial worship; and Ti and Shang-ti are used in speaking of, and referring to, that Being. When they are thus used, in the Classics and the rituals, they have no other use or application but to designate Heaven, as "another name for Heaven." I have dwelt thus long on this point because, notwithstanding the general consent in stating the fact, that "Heaven is styled Shang-ti," as Dr. Legge expresses it, and Shang-ti is another name for Heaven as others say, yet, it is often spoken of and referred to, as if Shang-ti is some Being different from and entirely independent of the Being or object named Heaven.

I wish to make one more preliminary remark, and then I will

enter directly on the discussion of the main question. In considering the ancient writings we are to inquire what was the *meaning of the words* in the passages under consideration, by the writers thereof; not what ideas do they suggest to readers now, or what meaning can be put into them. The writers would only have used the words to express the ideas that were in their own minds—to express the views of that subject which were known to themselves. What were the prevailing views and opinions at the time of the writing may be learned, of course, from the history of the times, from the statements made by commentators, and by the ideas which are embodied in the ceremonies and representations referring to the matter. It is the place of those who would know these views to learn them from these sources, and so to get at the meaning of the words as used by the writer and not to seek to put into the language of ancient writers such ideas of the matter as may be present in their own minds from other sources.

I now proceed to establish my main proposition, which is, that in the Chinese Classics, and in the Rituals and the state worship, where Heaven is used as a designation of the chief Power, the *visible Heaven*, regarded as a god, is the object *always* referred to. In all the Classics and Rituals, prayers and hymns, Heaven is spoken of by many synonyms, as, the "Sky,"* as the "Canopied Azure"† indicating both its shape and color, the "High Canopy,"‡ the "Imperial Canopy,"‖ the "Azure Canopy,"§ the "Azure Above,"¶ the "Glorious Azure."** The altar to Heaven is made high and round expressly to represent Heaven. The building, in which the tablet to Heaven is deposited for safe keeping, is designated the "Circular Hall of the Imperial Canopy."†† The jade stone gem which is presented at the time of the sacrifice to Heaven, is required to be "round and azure to resemble Heaven." The imposing building, in the northern part of the grounds connected with the altar to Heaven, in which prayer is offered to Heaven for a fruitful year, is dome-shaped and azure in color to resemble heaven. "Heaven is said to cover, while earth contains all things; and therefore the merit of earth is equal to that of Heaven." The one corresponds to the other. Heaven covers what the earth contains. Beyond all contradictions it is the visible Heaven which covers what the earth contains.

I now quote various passages in proof of my position. In the Confucian Analects at p. 23, of Chi. Clas., Vol. I., we have the oft quoted passage: "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom

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* 蒼蒼者天. † 穹蒼. ‡ 上蒼. ‖ 昊蒼.
§ 高穹. ¶ 蒼穹. ** 皇穹. †† 皇穹宇

he can pray." The commentary reads: "Heaven means principle, that is, the *Azure Heaven*. That with which Heaven abides is principle; therefore we use principle to explain Heaven."* At p. 110 of the Shi King an officer seeing the desolation exclaims: "Oh distant and azure Heaven, by what man was this [brought about]?" The explanation says, "That azure Heaven. Looking at it from a distance it appears azure." He says, "I sorrowing over the Chow dynasty no man knows thereof. Though man does not know, Heaven cannot be deceived. There is nothing which that distant azure Heaven does not pity."† Here omniscience and universal compassion are ascribed to the azure sky. At p. 182 the text reads, "Oh thou distant and azure Heaven, when shall we be in our places again?" The explanation says, "The distant and azure Heaven considers the love of the people to be a virtue: when will you permit me to demit the duties of the King and return to the cultivation of the fields and the nourishing of my parents, &c."‡ Here also the love of the people and the appointing of Rulers are ascribed to the azure sky. At p. 200 we read, "Thou azure Heaven there, Thou art destroying our good men." The commentary reads, "That which is azure, the sky, makes happy the good and sends misery on the wicked—this is the constant principle. Why do you not protect our good people, but on the contrary destroy their life?"‖ Here too divine power in punishing the wicked and rewarding the good is ascribed to the azure sky. At p. 311 we read, "Oh unpitying great Heaven."§ The word here translated "great" is as truly *descriptive* of Heaven as *azure* is. It is composed of the words for Heaven and sun and refers to the glorious and great appearance of heaven when the summer sun is shining. Kang Hi defines it thus, "In summer is

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* 獲罪於天、無所禱也、 四書論語. 註解、天卽理也、卽蒼蒼之天、天所主在理、故以理訓之、 見昧根錄.

† 悠悠蒼天、此何人哉、 詩國風. 註解、悠悠、遠貌、蒼天者、據遠而視之、蒼蒼然也、言我憫周之意、均無人知、夫人雖不知、而天則不可欺也、悠悠蒼天、無物不體者也、見詩經衍義.

‡ 悠悠蒼天、曷其有所、 詩國風. 註解、悠悠蒼天、以愛民爲德者也、果何時使我釋此王事、於以耕田養親而得其所乎、 見詩經衍義.

‖ 彼蒼者天、殲我眞人、 詩國風. 註解、彼蒼者天、福善禍淫、此常理也、胡不佑我善眞之人、而反殲其命乎、 見詩經衍義.

§ 不弔昊天、 詩小雅. 註、弔、憫也、言不見憫恤於昊天也、見詩經衍義.

the glorious Heaven." The explanation says, its substance is great and wide and here means "that the original substance has a wide and great appearance." This designation of *great* Heaven was conferred upon Heaven by Great Shun B.C. 2255 and it continued to be the authorized designation till it was replaced by the title *Imperial*, or Sovereign, in A.D. 1538. At p. 325 we find the passage, "Great and wide Heaven! how is it you have contracted your kindness." The commentary says, "that wide and great Heaven regards the complete covering of things as a virtue, &c. How is it, you exercise no forethought nor care."* At p. 326 the text reads, "Compassionate Heaven," literally *Autumnal Heaven*, referring to the mild and soft appearance of the sky in the autumn, as if it looked with compassion on the decay of vegetable life. The explanation reads, "that mild and distant autumnal Heaven kindly covers and compassionates all the things which are below, &c."† At p. 348 the text reads, "Oh azure Heaven! Oh azure Heaven! Look on these proud men." "The azure Heaven makes happy and sends misery on the wicked, it does not forget this principle, &c."‡ At p. 523, the text reads, "I have no strength, I think of the concave Azure." The explanation says, "The concave Azure means Heaven. Concave speaks of its shape and azure of its color. It means that Heaven has sent desolation and disturbance, &c."‖

In the passage on p. 316 of the Shi King where it reads "There is the great Shang-ti." The explanation reads, "Hwang means great, Shang-ti is the Heaven-god. Ching-tsze says, "On account of its form and substance it is designated Heaven; by reason of its lordship and rule it is designated Ruler."§ The words here translated "form and substance" are words which are used in describing man's body.

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* 浩浩昊天、不駿其德、 詩小雅. 註解、浩浩、廣大也、昊、亦廣大之意、駿、大也、德、惠也、言彼浩浩昊天、以徧覆爲德者也、今乃不大其惠、而降此饑饉之災、以斬伐四國之人、徧覆之德安在哉、 見詩經衍義.

† 昊天疾威、敷於下土、 詩小雅. 註解、昊、幽遠之意、敷、布也、言彼幽遠之昊天、本仁覆憫下者也、今則疾威敷布於下土、 見詩經衍義.

‡ 蒼天蒼天、視彼驕人、矜此勞人、 詩小雅. 註解、蒼天蒼天、福善禍淫、不爽其理者也、 見詩經衍義.

‖ 靡有旅力、以念穹蒼、 詩大雅. 註解、旅與膂同、穹蒼、天也、穹言其形、蒼言其色、 見詩經衍義.

§ 有皇上帝、 註、皇大也、上帝、天之神也、程子曰、以其形體謂之天、以其主宰謂之帝、 見詩經衍義.

The Rev. E. Faber, in *Chinese Recorder* for 1880, at p. 5, in a note, renders "the animated bodily organism" of men by these two words. If this is a correct rendering of these two words, and we adopt this form of expression instead of the one above given, the sentence would read: That the Heaven-god "on account of its animated bodily organism is styled Heaven." Dr. Williams in his Dictionary gives *person* as the equivalent of these two words. In connection with these various expressions used by the Chinese to express their conception of the matter, is it not evident that their conception is this; they conceive of the material Heaven as animated by a living intelligent spirit, and therefore a god of extensive power and rule, as its substance covers all things; and that this god by reason of its bodily form or substance is styled Heaven, and because it exercises lordship and rule it is called Ruler.

The taking of an oath is one of the most solemn acts in recognition of the overruling Power. It is very common for men to appeal to Heaven. The following sentence is one of several instances where in taking an oath the Sun is joined to Heaven. The joining of Sun to Heaven makes it clear that it is the visible Heaven. "They, weeping, pointed to the Heaven and the Sun, and mutually made oath, that living or dying they would not desert each other."* The following passage is very interesting and important because it makes clear that it refers to the visible Heaven, that which covers China, and that this Heaven was the special patron of the T'ang dynasty having given to it all within the four seas....."Heaven, because the *T'ang dynasty* was able to imitate its virtue, and its pious children and godly grand-children did not weary in revering and obeying, gave all which it covered to them. The four seas and nine provinces had no within or without, but all acknowledged them as Lord and themselves as servitors."†

A hand-book for readers of the Chinese Classics of the highest authority coming down from the third century, in the section which explains the word Heaven, has these remarks. An edition of the Spring and Autumn Classic says, "Heaven is conspicuous. It dwells on high and rules the below, for men it regulates and governs. Therefore the character T'ien is one and great."‡

In explanation of the designation Shang T'ien, the I Nga says,

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* 指天日涕泣、誓生死不相背負、 見古文韓愈墓誌銘.

† 天以唐克肖其德、聖子神孫、敬戒不怠、全付所覆、四海九州、罔有內外、悉主悉臣、 見韓愈平淮西碑.

‡ 天之言顯也、居高理下、爲人經紀、故其字一大以鎮之、見爾雅釋天引春秋說題辭.

"to be above and take care of things below." After many other remarks as to the varying modes of speaking of Heaven as the azure Heaven, the great Heaven, the autumnal Heaven, &c., it says "The azure Heaven is in reference to its substance, honoring Heaven and regarding it as a Ruler or Sovereign, then it is styled Imperial Heaven."* In this sentence the word "Kiun" is used as a verb to regard as a Sovereign or Ruler; and because T'ien is so regarded it is styled Imperial Heaven. It also explains the expression to sacrifice to Heaven "to offer the burnt offering, at the great altar is styled sacrificing to Heaven." The whole tenor of the book makes it evident, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the sacrifice is offered to the visible Heaven.

In the face of all these statements, the names of the object, its characteristics and functions, which might be added to indefinitely, it is hard to conceive of a more unwarranted and untenable statement than that made by Dr. Legge as quoted above, "I maintain that when they use the name in this way they do *not think* of the material Heavens *at all*."

Let us see how Dr. Legge sets aside these statements of the Chinese writers, in which they express their meaning and thoughts in relation to the subject. At p. 200 of the Shi King where the Poet says "that which is azure, the sky," Dr. Legge says, after giving this translation, "but we must understand the appeal is really to the Power dwelling in the Heavens." At p. 316 he quotes the explanation "which is given by Ching E and which is accepted by Choo, and by *all subsequent writers*" thus: "With reference to its form we speak of Heaven, with reference to its lordship and rule we speak of Shang-ti." Instead of accepting this general consent of writers as settling the question of what is their meaning in the use of the word, Dr. Legge says, "this meaning is *absurd*. We are as good judges of what is meant by Heaven as a name for the Supreme Power, as Ching was." Thus Dr. Legge forgetting that the object of the inquiry is, to find out what was the idea which the Chinese wished to express, and not what was the *correct* doctrine about the matter, refuses to accept the statement of the best commentators of the Chinese Classics as to what was their understanding of the words of their own language; and declares his own competency to judge what the words meant. At p. 530 when discussing a clause in which his translation differed from that of a previous translator, he gives, as the reason for rejecting that of the other, that the meaning the other gave "is to my mind exceedingly

* 按詩傳云、蒼天以體言之、尊而君之、則稱皇天、元氣廣大、則稱昊天、仁覆閔下、則稱旻天、自上降監、則稱上天、據遠視之蒼蒼然、則稱蒼天、 見爾雅釋天.

unnatural" and "therefore he *could not* translate the passage otherwise than he had done." The meaning the other translator gave was, that Heaven is the chief Ruler. On the same passage he expresses himself thus in his "Lectures" at page 65 in note K. "So I *must understand* the title," though *the literal* translation of it, which he gives, expresses a very different and indeed a quite opposite meaning to the one which he gives. The reason he *must understand* the title in his way, and not according to the literal rendering of it, is, because the literal translation gives a different meaning from what he thinks it ought to have. We leave our readers to form their own opinion on this point, how far a translator or annotator, who expresses himself as refusing to accept the statements of the Chinese as to their own sentiments and opinions, and who says he *must* understand the words in a sense that accord with his own previously-expressed opinion, can be accepted as a reliable interpreter of the books he translates.

To proceed with the discussion, I go further and say that the Chinese not only *always* think of the material Heaven as exercising the lordship and rule, but that they think of *no other Being* as doing so. While the late Dr. Hobson was resident at Canton, some objectors to Christianity sent to him a criticism on some Christian books, which criticisms Dr. Hobson sent to Dr. Legge. He publishes one passage of these objections at p. 38 of "Notions, &c.," which reads thus, "You [*i.e.* Christians] say, the azure Heaven has no ruling power. When we say "Thank Heaven" you require that we should write plainly the name and surname of the Being, or that we say Shang-ti, and then you will understand us. These are the views of a stupid man. No man who has read books [*i.e.* no literary person] would write thus. To explain summarily the word Heaven is used first as we speak of the Emperor, calling him his sacred Highness and not daring directly to speak out his name."* Here the point taken against Christian books is that they say "The azure heaven has no ruling power." The Chinese for azure heaven is the most explicit expression to designate the material heaven that can be used. In charging it against Christians that they say, the material heaven has no ruling power, the paper implies that the objectors held *that it had*, and they say "no literary man would write as the Christians had done on that point." With this agrees an incident which happened within my own cognizance. Some disputants came into a chapel and charged against the Christian speakers, that they were disloyal and unfilial, in that they did not

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* 又說、蒼蒼之天、并無主宰之權、謝天者必要寫明何姓何名、上帝方得知之、此乃愚人之見、非讀書人爲也、夫天之一字、總而言之、如今之稱聖上、不敢直呼其名矣、

worship the national gods of China, mentioning Heaven and Earth, Rulers, Parents and Teachers. The Christians defended their positions explaining, that while they did not *worship* their Ruler, Parents or Teachers, yet, they honored them by following their teachings, showing them respect, and cherishing their memories, &c., &c. They said, since Heaven and Earth are mere dead matter, they, of course, did not worship them; but they worshipped the Lord and Creator of Heaven and Earth. At this expression, the objectors broke out into a furious passion saying there was no Lord of Heaven, that *Heaven* is the Lord and Ruler; and would not discuss the point further. Several of the Protestant missionaries in, and near Peking, who in preaching, use the term T'ien Chu for God, have told me that frequently after preaching, in conversation with some of the hearers, they would say, "yes, we believe as you do. We believe that *Heaven* is Lord," thus showing that they understood the words T'ien Chu, not as meaning Heaven's Lord, but Heaven is Lord; as Dr. Chalmers' translates that term in his letter in the *China Review* for Nov.-Dec., 1880. One of these missionaries also told me, that he had the same Chinese teacher in his employ for ten years. He was a man of good talents and literary acquirements. After he was thus under Christian influence for eight years he professed his faith in Christianity. He told the missionary that for six years of the time he was with him, in reading the Christian Scriptures and tracts, he understood T'ien Chu in the sense of Heaven *is* Lord.

From these repeated experiences it would appear that many of the Confucianists are so accustomed to think of Heaven as the Lord and Ruler, that their minds cannot readily accept of any other meaning of the words. It is a matter of history that the Emperor Kang Hi was greatly enraged because some of the Catholic missionaries referred the question of the rites in China to the Pope at Rome. If those, who have the opportunity of examining the full accounts of the discussion of this question, during the years 1680 to 1704, will do so, I venture to express the surmise, that it will be found that *one* great cause of Kang Hi's displeasure was this, the arrogance, as he considered it, of those who advocated the use of T'ien Chu in the sense of *Lord* of Heaven; thus claiming that the God of Christians is *the Lord* of the chief god of the Chinese state religion.

At p. 43 of his "Lectures" Dr. Legge refers to a change in the adjective prefexed to Heaven in the ritual, in the year A.D. 1538, by the then reigning Emperor of the Ming dynasty. The adjective used had hitherto been "great" or "glorious"; by this Emperor it was changed to "imperial." Before considering the meaning of this change I wish to con-

sider the circumstances when the first adjective of dignity or honor was conferred. It was conferred upon Heaven by the Emperor Shun soon after he ascended the throne. He was very unwilling to accede to the wishes of Yao and accept the honor; but his objections were overcome by observing the appearance of the stars. The conferring of this title is thus stated in the book called *The General Mirror of Gods and Genii.* Great Shun, having observed the regular arrangement of the seven regulators (*i.e.* the Sun, Moon, and five planets) knew that there was a decree of Heaven (in his favor). Thus having commenced to discharge the duties of the Son of Heaven, and to manage all the affairs, he sacrificed to Heaven and Earth at the Round Hillock; and at the sacrifice, he announced the reasons for undertaking the government. At that time, looking up to the azure heaven, its original substance so great and vast, he considered *is there not indeed* a Lord and Ruler to *manage the decrees?* Therefore he presented an honorable designation, styling it "Great Heaven, Ruler Above"; also styling it Heaven-Lord, the Great Ruler—designations corresponding to that of Heaven above."*

This is a very important passage, both because it refers to an act done by one of the first Emperors; and because it has criteria, which can be used to make clear its proper meaning. The passage refers to Heaven all through from beginning to end. The appearance of the sun and the stars is one of those "appearances" which Heaven uses to teach men its will. The Great Shun therefore uses this mode of getting instruction; and finding the appearances favorable he knew that the decree of Heaven had appointed him Emperor—and he therefore accepts the important trust. His objections being thus removed, he enters upon the duties pertaining to the "Son of Heaven." One of them is to sacrifice to Heaven at the Round Hillock; which is the name given to the altar to Heaven in the Ritual. When engaged in this duty he most naturally looks up to what? to a spiritual Being? no, but to the object to which he was offering sacrifice, the azure sky. What strikes his attention, or arouses his thoughts? Is it any thing pertaining to a spiritual Being? no, it is the vastness and greatness of the original *substance* of the azure sky, and when thus impressed with its greatness he thinks "is there not indeed a Lord and Ruler to manage the decrees?" referring apparently to the decree appointing him to be Emperor. This combination of two negatives in this sentence

* 大舜見七政齊乎、知天命攸在、遂攝行天子之事、整理應務、祭天地於圓丘、類告攝政之由、因仰思蒼蒼者天、元氣昊然廣大、豈無主宰司命、擬上尊號曰昊天上帝、又曰天主大帝、適符上天之號、見神仙鑑.

is an elegant, and at the same time, a *very positive* affirmative. There is *indeed* a Lord and Ruler to manage the decrees, viz., the azure Heaven. Therefore he presents an honorable designation to what? why most obviously to the object which he contemplated when he looked upward, and he gave to Heaven the designation great, which expressed the idea impressed upon his mind as he looked up to the great and vast sky. This word translated great is descriptive of the *visible* heaven. Kang Hi first defined it as "the appearance of the heaven in summer, representing its *substance* as *vast and large*, or again, the word means "the appearance of the original substance as wide and great."* The meaning of the word given as the honorable designation, clearly implies that it was given to the visible heaven, which is "the Ruler above." He conferred also another designation, viz., "Heaven-Lord, the Great Ruler"† both of which designations correspond to the former and common designation "Heaven above." I am well aware that other translations have been made of this passage; but I submit it to the consideration of sinologists that this translation is consistent with the grammatical construction of the pivotal clause of the passage, which I have italicized; and with both the antecedent and subsequent context. Heaven is the subject of consideration from the beginning to the end of the passage. And what is meant by Heaven is expressed in the specific and distinctive phrase "the azure sky." The title is prefixed to Heaven; and by this translation alone, is the meaning of the passage consistent throughout.

I now come to the time when the honorable designation thus given, and which continued in common use for nearly 3000 years was changed by Kea Tsing, of the Ming dynasty. This Emperor with great parade changed Haou to Hwang, *i.e.* Great Heaven to Imperial Heaven. Dr. Legge, in his "Lectures," and elsewhere, writes as if this was conferring an honorable designation upon Shang-ti, which is only another name for Heaven instead of upon *Heaven* itself. The very designation which was conferred by the Great Shun, indicates *the object* to which it was given, as is shown above; and, of course, when Kea Tsing changed the honorable designation he *continued* it to the same object. The honorable title was *not* conferred upon Shang-ti at all, for that title remained unchanged, while the prefix to Heaven was changed. The passage from I Nga says, "that regarding Heaven as

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* 夏爲昊天、爾雅釋天. 註、言氣皓旰、疏、昊者、元氣博大之貌、李巡云、夏萬物盛壯、其氣昊昊、故曰昊天、見康熙字典昊字註解.

† 昊天上帝、又曰天主大帝、見神仙通鑑第四卷.

a Sovereign, therefore it was styled Imperial Heaven." It was to Heaven as the Ruler over all, that he gave the designation Imperial. Hence the translation which Dr. Legge gives of the four characters, Hwang Tien, Shang-ti, viz., "the Supreme God, dwelling in the Imperial Heaven" is utterly untenable. For, not only have we the admission of Dr. Legge himself that the literal translation of these four characters is "Imperial Heaven, Supreme God;" but we have the express statement of Chu Fu-tsze, in the Chow Book of Rites, when discussing about the term Ti being applied to the Rulers of the five parts of heaven, "that Haou Tien, Shang-ti is *Heaven*."* We have shown above that Heaven is the distinctive name of the Being worshipped, and that, as Dr. Legge himself says, it is Heaven which is styled Shang-ti; but by his translation he displaces Heaven from being the distinctive name of the Being, and puts Shang-ti, the synonym of Heaven, in its place. This is just as incongruous in this place, and as inconsistent with the fact that "Shang-ti is another name for Heaven," as it would be to say in regard to Dr. Wilberforce, in the illustration given above, "Oxford Bishop of Dr. Wilberforce." That would be a complete change of the proper relation of the words; for it is Dr. Wilberforce who is the Bishop of Oxford; and so it is Imperial Heaven who is the Ruler above. As in the one case we cannot say Oxford Bishop of Dr. Wilberforce, no more can we say in the other, the Supreme Ruler of the Imperial Heaven. That it was *Heaven* and not Shang-ti upon whom the honorable designation was conferred, may be made clear by another illustration. When a few years ago the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, Lord Beaconsfield, wished to confer an honorable designation upon Queen Victoria, as the Ruler of India, he did not propose to honor *the ruler* of India by conferring a dignified title upon *the country* over which she ruled, and say "the Queen of *Imperial* India;" but he changed the title of the ruler *herself* making it to be "the *Empress* of India." Had the Prime Minister of England proposed that the designation should read "the Queen of *Imperial* India," he would have made himself the laughing stock of Europe. When the Emperor Kea Tsing, wishing to confer an honorable designation upon the chief Power makes it read "*Imperial* Heaven, Shang-ti," is it not *clear* that Heaven was the Being that he intended to honor, and that *therefore* the construction is "Imperial Heaven who is the Ruler above?" If the purpose had been to confer a title of honor upon Shang-ti, as Dr. Legge says it was, and he simply changed the prefix before Heaven, over which Shang-ti rules, making it read "Shang-ti of the *Imperial* Heaven"

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* 昊天上帝是天、見周禮太宰朱子註.

instead of "Imperial Shang-ti," he would have subjected himself to ridicule among his own people. Moreover, we saw above, that the Great Shun conferred two separate designations, viz., "Haou Tien Shang-ti" and "Tien Chu Tai Ti." Every one will see that the two phrases are of the same construction, and, while Dr. Legge has translated the first four characters in regimen "Shang-ti of the great Heaven" the other four characters *do not admit* of that construction. We cannot say, The Great Ruler of the Heaven-Lord. Heaven is still the subject of remark. Heaven is Lord, and Heaven-Lord is the Great Ruler; and so, also, it is Imperial Heaven, in the phrase under discussion, who is the Ruler above. That this is the grammatical construction, I am happy to be able to cite Dr. Legge himself; see "Lectures," p. 65, note K., where referring to the translation, as given in the text in p. 40, he says "So I *must* understand the title Hwang Thien Shang-ti, *literally*, Sovereign Heaven, Supreme God." Now, every linguist knows that, in order to get the exact meaning of an author, we must take his *meaning according to the literal translation of his words.* We may vary the form of the expression to suit the idiom of the language into which any one is translating, provided we do not change the meaning from that which is given by the literal construction. But Dr. Legge, in this passage, not only departs from what he himself gives as the literal translation, but he changes the manner of expression so as to give a sense directly *the opposite* from that which the literal translation gives. The literal translation makes Heaven the subject of the verb, which is implied and states that Imperial Heaven is the Ruler above. Dr. Legge's translation makes Shang-ti the subject of this verb, and thus makes it to be "Supreme Ruler dwelling in the Imperial Heavens." The reason he gives for thus translating it is "So I must understand it," in order to maintain his view that the Being which was honored was Shang-ti, a Being separate from Heaven; which view, the considerations presented above show to be utterly untenable. The very word imperial or sovereign is incongruous if prefixed to Heaven as a name of a place, but it is entirely applicable to personified Heaven as exercising imperial sway and dominion.

Here I may properly notice Dr. Legge's strictures on my translation of this phrase made in his letter to Prof. Müller at p. 42. The passage, as he quotes it, is equally pertinent to my purpose. The object sacrificed to is Heaven; it is performed by the Son of Heaven. "Now when we designate the Heaven 'god,' we say Sovereign Heaven, the Ruler Above, the Great One, and we call its altar the Great Terrace." This translation is called for not only by the *literal* translation of the phrase, as Dr. Legge admits it to be, but by the *whole* connection

and meaning of the context. What is the object spoken of? It is Heaven. What is the epithet applied to it? Sovereign; which means supreme in power, possessing supreme dominion. How could this be applied to Heaven if, in this sentence, it was only a place? The Son of Heaven is to render service to Heaven as a god—or to Heaven *spiritualized*, as Dr. Legge prefers to say—but to *Heaven;* and that Heaven is styled "Imperial Heaven, the Ruler Above, the Great One." It is Heaven which is "the Great One," and it is Heaven's altar that is called the Broad Terrace. Dr. Legge's translation of this passage is as faulty in its theology as it is in its grammar, and its want of connection with the context. He says "it is the Spirit or soul of Heaven which is styled Shang-ti or God dwelling in the Sovereign Heaven." As he says "Shang-ti is our God," he thus makes his God to be the same as the soul of Heaven, from which assertion all Christians will dissent.

To resume the translation, "And the earth-god we designate Sovereign Earth, being the same as the yellow spirit of the Centre." I readily admit that the phrase about the yellow spirit is in regimen, and the reason is obvious. As in their mythology there are *five* parts or places spoken of as earth, he wished to make it clear which one of the five was referred to. The statement that it was the central part which was animated by the yellow spirit is concurrent with my statement that the Chinese conceive of these objects of nature as animated by a living spirit; and hence the very common expression "The living Heaven and the living Earth." But the construction of this intervening and explanatory sentence is very different from the sentence in relation to Heaven which precedes, and the sentence about the Earth which follows it. Heaven and Earth are spoken of as complete animated objects, by the name of the visible object; hence these sentences are not affected by the construction of the intervening sentence. For according to this construction alone would it be proper to style the Earth-god Sovereign *Earth*. "The altar [to earth], at the north of the city, has not yet any honorable designation. It is proper that orders be given to designate the Earth-god, Imperial Earth, the Sovereign Producer, and to call its altar the Broad Terrace." For the Chinese text see above, p. 42. The object to which the Emperor was to pay the service due to a mother is the Earth, and hence the Earth is the subject referred to on the whole subsequent part of the passage, without any reference to its component parts, viz., the visible earth, or the animating spirit. According to the amount of the worship of Earth, as given in the Book of Rites, the names, by which it has been designated at different times, are these,

viz: the Earth-god, the divine or spiritual Sovereign, the Sovereign Earth. In the T'so-chuen, by Confucius, we read that, "The Earth is styled the Sovereign Earth." In the explanation to this remark it is said, "The earth is the Lord of all things, therefore it is styled Sovereign."* In the explanation of one of the minor odes it is said that the "Earth-god is able to produce all things." Since Earth is thus spoken of as, "the mother of all things" as "able to produce all things,"† it is very strange that Dr. Legge should speak of the use of the word "Producer" to translate K'i as a *mistranslation* of K'i. For further discussion of this point see *Chinese Recorder* 1880, p. 177.

At page 45 of the *Recorder*, in his letter to Prof. Müller, Dr. Legge gives the translation of an explanation by a celebrated Chinese scholar, of the eleventh century A.D., Khang I, thus:—"*Kû* Hsî says:—'Shang Ti is the Spirit of heaven. As *Khăng* I says, "With reference to Its form, we speak of Heaven; with reference to Its lordship and rule, we speak of Ti."'" I invite the attention of sinologists to this translation. By this translation Dr. Legge makes Shang-ti to be the spirit or soul of heaven. But what does he make "*Its*" with a capital I, in the subsequent clauses refer to? As he prints the passage, Spirit with a capital S and heaven with a small h the obvious way of construing "Its" would be to refer it to Spirit, and the first clauses will read, "with reference to the Spirit's form we speak of Heaven." But how can we speak of the *form* of a Spirit? Hence that can not be the proper understanding. Then "Its" must refer to Shang-ti. And the clause will read, "With reference to Shang-ti's form we speak of Heaven." If then, with reference to Shang-ti's form, we speak of Heaven, what does that mean, but that *Heaven* is Shang-ti's *form*, *i.e.* that the visible Heaven is Shang-ti. And *this* is what all writers agree in saying, "that Shang-ti is another name for Heaven." But I would propose another translation, thus, "Shang-ti is the Heaven-god. With reference to Its (the god's) form we speak of Heaven; with reference to Its (the god's) lordship and rule we speak of Ti, Ruler." This translation makes the construction all plain, and it is in accord with all the other presentation of the subject, by the Chinese writers. So also with respect to the other passage quoted by him on the same page, which reads, Ti is "the honorable designation of lordship and rule. *Hence* Heaven is called Shang Ti." What is the obvious meaning of this passage? The writer defines Ti as all other Chinese writers do. It is a designation of lordship and rule. And *because* Heaven exercises lordship and rule, therefore *it* is

* 土正曰后土、左傳. 註、土爲羣物主、故稱后、見左傳註.
† 社、五土之神、能生萬物者、見詩以社以方註.

called *The Ruler*. How can any one hereafter contend, that Ruler is not the proper translation of the word Ti, when it is used referring to Heaven as the chief Power?

I now refer to a very important passage which I quoted, without any remark, in the appendix to my "Letter to Prof. Müller," see *Chinese Recorder* for 1880, p. 187. "Ti is one of the names of Heaven. The reason why it is named Ti is that Ti means to judge. Since that Heaven is boundlessly impartial, does not distinguish between itself and others; that Heaven examines and judges with the utmost justice and intelligence; on these accounts, Heaven is styled Ti. The five Ti (*i.e.* the five ancient Emperors) had the same principles as these; they were able to examine and judge, therefore they had the designation Ti. Heaven and Ti are one. The lords of men can be designated Ti, but they *cannot* be designated Heaven, for Heaven is so designated because of its *substance*. The lords of men cannot be of the same substance as Heaven."* This important passage, as Dr. Legge tells us, to whom I am indebted for it, is quoted from a commentary on the Shu in an edition of the Classics published during the T'ang Dynasty. Here, as everywhere else, the subject of the passage is Heaven. Ti is one of the names of Heaven. And here is given a clear statement of the reasons why *Heaven* is styled Ti—because it, Heaven, exercises the function of examining and judging with justice and intelligence. As human Rulers exercise this function among men in the same way, they may be, and are called Ti. But they cannot be called Heaven because the chief Power has its name Heaven from *its substance*. What words could more explicitly state that the Chief Power among the Chinese is the visible Heaven; for what other object is named Heaven because of its substance but the visible Heaven? The Bible makes known to us that God created all things, and we call him the Creator. The Bible also makes known that God exercises supreme control over all the works of his hands; and hence we style him the Supreme Ruler. As kings and princes exercise rule and lordship over their subjects, they are also designated rulers—rulers of men in contradistinction to the Supreme Ruler. This statement of the Chinese writer makes it clear, that the designation Ti, is common to the Ruler above, *i.e.* Heaven, and the Rulers on earth, because of *the resemblance* of the function exercised

* 帝者、天之一名、所以名帝、帝者諦也、言天蕩然無心、忘於物我、言公平通達審諦、故謂之帝也、五帝道同於此、亦能審諦、故取其名、天之與帝、義爲一也、人主可得稱帝、不可得稱天者、以天體質而立名、人主不可同天之體也、

by them in their respective positions. If Dr. Legge's translation is correct that Ti is God, then it would follow that human rulers are gods. But the Chinese have no such idea. What this passage makes clear is this; when human rulers practice justice and intelligence in the exercise of their function, as Heaven does in the exercise of a similar function, they may be called Ti, *i.e.* Rulers. There is not a trace of the meaning divine in the word.

The nature and character of the other objects, which are sacrificed to in the imperial or state worship, makes it clear that the object designated Heaven is the visible heaven deified. The other objects to which sacrifice is offered, as stated in the Imperial ritual, are the earth, the sun, moon and stars, the wind, the clouds, the rain and thunder. There is no doubt but that these words refer to the objects of nature so named. It is a rule of exposition, that the same principle of interpretation should be applied to all the same kind of words which occur in the same sentence and paragraphs of the same book. Heaven is of the same class of words as earth, sun and moon. Since then earth, sun and moon are by all understood in the Ritual to refer to these objects of nature, it follows according to this rule, that Heaven should also be understood to refer to this object of nature. It would be utterly incongruous to understand Heaven to refer to a spiritual Being when all the other words are understood to refer to the natural objects.

There are, however, some passages of the Shi King which have been understood as representing Shang-ti as a spiritual Being, before whom the spirits of good kings go and come. It is proper to consider these several passage. At page 428 of the Shi we find this passage "King Wan ascends and descends on the right and left of Shang-ti." These words have, to many persons re-called the words of our Lord in John's Gospel, Chap. 1: 51, "the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man;" and the vision of Jacob at Bethel. But let us see how the Chinese critics understand these words. In the native commentary the great authority Chu Fu-tsze explains them thus, "Because that King Wan's soul in Heaven, is ascending and descending, there is not a moment that he is not at Shang-ti's right and left. *Having virtue equal to* (or united with), that of Heaven, he *with it revolves*, and with it *proceeds with equal steps; therefore* his descendants enjoyed the advantages of his blessing and obtained the empire."* In considering this sentence, we are to

* 文王陟降、在帝左右、註解、蓋以文王之神、在天一升一降、無時不在神之左右、與天合德同運而並行者也、是以子孫蒙其福澤、而君有天下也、見詩經衍義、

remember that Shang-ti is simply another name for Heaven. Hence the words "on the right and left of Shang-ti" means simply on the right and left of Heaven. This meaning of the phrase is made clear in the explanation where the words Heaven and Shang-ti are used interchangeably in the same sentence. Being "on the right and the left," is explained thus, King Wan having as a Ruler of men acted justly "his merit is equal with that of Heaven" and "he revolves with and proceeds with Heaven with even pace." The two words translated "revolves with and proceeds with" are those commonly used by Chinese writers in referring to the movement of Heaven and the heavenly bodies. Their use in this connection makes it evident that it is the visible heaven which is referred to. This explanation of the commentator *dissipates* all the idea, which some have entertained, that these words imply, that the Chinese had some such idea of Heaven as a place of happiness as the Bible reveals to us, with the souls of the good being in the presence of a Spiritual Being. Again at page 458 of the Shi it reads, "the three sovereigns were in Heaven." The three referred to are the Kings T'ae, Ke and Wan. They were three successive Kings of the same family, being grandfather, son and grandson respectively. At page 428 of the Shi it only spoke of King Wan being in Heaven. We have seen above how the master Chu understood the expression in reference to him. In the passage quoted in the early part of this paper from pages 352–4 of the Shu King, we have seen that Duke Chow regarded them as associated with Heaven in the administration of the Empire, therefore he prayed to them for the prolongation of the life of the King, his elder brother; and having obtained a favorable answer to his prayer said, "I have got his appointment renewed by the three kings." The first appointment of this brother as King was by the decree of Heaven; the renewal thereof was from the three Kings. The explanation of the above passage from the Shi stated that it was from the virtue of King Wan that his descendants had the Empire. Does not all this teach that these deceased kings were *associated with* Heaven in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom? Yen Ts'an's explanation of the former passage of the Shi, as quoted by Dr. Legge at page 428, says, "King Wan's virtue was in accordance with Heaven. He ascended and descended, advanced and retired, as if he was always on the right and left of Shang-ti [*i.e.* Heaven], so that not a single movement of his was other than the action of Heaven. From this presentation of the ideas of Chinese writers, it would appear, that the translation of Chinese prepositions by "*in*" does not convey to English readers the meaning of the original; but that

"*with*" in the sense of "associated with" Heaven would better convey the idea that the Chinese have in regard to it. Dr. Legge, in his notes on the passage about the three Kings, on page 458, says, "The expression "in Heaven," simple enough to a Christian reader, is to the Chinese critics full of perplexity; and where their ideas are utterly confused, it is impossible they should express themselves clearly." Why is this expression "in Heaven" simple enough to Christian readers? It is because it is an expression which the Bible has made familiar to Christians as descriptive of the state of the righteous in happiness. But can any one, for a moment, suppose or maintain that the idea which is *suggested to* the mind of Christian readers, and which they derived from the Word of God, is the idea which the Chinese writers, who had no knowledge of that revelation, had in their minds? I think not. I think that the writers meant to express the ideas which were in their own minds, not those which are in the minds of Christian readers. Dr. Legge's remark, that the ideas of the Chinese are utterly confused as to the state of the dead in another world, is just what we might expect them to be; and these considerations preclude us from accepting the statements, which have been put forward in connection with these passages, as presenting the ideas held by the Chinese themselves.

But Dr. Legge rests his opinion, that Shang-ti designates a spiritual Being entirely apart from Heaven, on some passages from Chinese authors which I now proceed to consider successively. One of these is from "the Doctrine of the Mean." He prints it on the second page of his "Lectures" as a most incontrovertible proof of this opinion. It reads thus, "In the ceremonies at the altars of Heaven and Earth they served Shang-ti." In a former part of this article I have shown that by general consent of all writers, both Chinese and foreign, Shang-ti is but another name for Heaven; and that, as Shang-ti is the synonym of Heaven, we can always substitute Heaven for Shang-ti. When we do that in this passage it reads that "in these ceremonies at the altars of Heaven and Earth they served Heaven,"* which has been shown to be the visible Heaven. Hence the passage does not afford any proof to the proposition that Shang-ti is a spiritual Being apart from Heaven. It is stated in the Book of Rites by an accepted commentator that "to sacrifice to Shang-ti is to sacrifice to Heaven." But besides this what is the most generally received explanation of this passage by Chinese critics? Dr. Legge has given it in Chi. Clas., Vol. 1, page 268, thus: "K'ang-hing took 郊 to be the sacrifice to Heaven, offered, at

* 郊社之禮、所以事上帝也、

the winter solstice, in the southern suburb (郊) of the imperial city; and 社 to be that offered to the Earth, at the summer solstice, in the northern. Choo He agrees with him. Both of them, however, add that after 上帝 we are to understand 后土, 'Sovereign Earth'" * saying, that the omission of Sovereign Earth is an abbreviated text. This view is supported by the whole usage in regard to these sacrifices, as given in the Book of Rites, and in the ritual, where "shie" is constantly spoken of as the sacrifice to Earth, as *distinctively* as "kiau" is spoken of as the sacrifice to Heaven. See *Chinese Recorder*, 1880, p. 175. Other commentators say "that Sovereign Earth is included in Shang-ti, just as the wife is included in the husband," &c. To which others rejoin "why resort to any other explanation when the Master Choo says that it is an abbreviated text." The immediate context of the passage implies that Sovereign Earth is included. For from the earliest records as given in the Book of Rites, and continued in the Imperial Ritual of each successive dynasty to the present one, it has been the incumbent duty of each Emperor to sacrifice to Heaven, to Earth and to the Imperial ancestors. The immediate context reads thus, "By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served Shang-ti and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and *Earth*, and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm." This context thus makes it clear that there was worship of Earth also.

But as so much stress is laid upon the fact, that the above passage from the Doctrine of the Mean, is from a work which passed under the immediate care of Confucius himself, the great sage of China, let us see what we can learn from other books that had his editorial supervision, if not compilation. The Spring and Autumn Classic is credited to him. In the part styled the Tsó Tseuen we find this passage, "Tsun's great officer thrice bowed and kneeled and said, 'The Prince treads the Sovereign Earth and *wears* the Imperial Heaven; Imperial Heaven and Sovereign Earth certainly hears the King's words."† The word rendered "wears," is used in speaking of wearing a hat. What form of expression could more explicitly say, that it is the animated Heaven and Earth which heard the words of the King, than to speak of the Earth as that upon which he treads, and of the Heaven as that which covers his head as a hat? The

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* 朱註、郊祭天、社祭地、不言后土者、省文也、見四書註、

† 晉大夫三拜稽首曰、君履后土而戴夏天、皇天后土、實聞君之言、見左傳、

circumstances under which these words were spoken were these. Two countries were at war. The victor took the conquered king captive. When the captive king came into the presence of the victor, he was followed by a high officer, who manifested great sorrow at the unfortunate fate of his chief. The victor consoled him by promising to liberate his king. The officer therefore kneeled before the generous victor giving him thanks, and to remind him of the sanctity of his promise, he spoke these words. When afterwards the victor's officers urged him not to liberate this captive, the victor said, "Heaven and Earth have agreed thereto with me." The commentary says, "Tsun's great officer having said that Imperial Heaven and Sovereign Earth had heard the Prince's words indicated that Heaven and Earth were witnesses, and therefore were with me joint consenters to the engagement."* In this same book we find the passage "Earth is styled Sovereign" on which the commentator remarks "Earth is called the Lord of all things therefore it is styled Sovereign." And again we read, "The good Ruler rewards the good and punishes the bad, he nourishes the people as children, covering them as Heaven does, containing them as Earth does."† And again, "When Heaven reverses the seasons it is a calamity; when Earth reverses the things it is a distress. The meaning of the expression, 'Heaven reverses the seasons and Earth the things,' is that Heaven fails to manifest its covering benevolence and Earth its containing goodness; therefore it is said to be a calamity."‡ These passages from the Classic which is said to have been compiled by himself, manifest that Confucius held the same sentiments as did his countrymen, and that he regarded Heaven and Earth as the chief divinities of the country.

At page 43 of his "Lectures," Dr. Legge heads a paragraph thus, "Prayers to Shang-ti at a special solstitial sacrifice in A.D. 1538." We have seen above that the sacrifice at the winter solstice is to Heaven. As Shang-ti is another name for Heaven these prayers are of course addressed to Heaven. They are in praise of Heaven and they contain ascriptions of power and rule to Heaven. But Dr. Legge appears to forget this essential point, and writes as if Shang-ti was some Being separate from Heaven. To make this matter clear I present further testimony on that point. At page 478 of the Shu

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* 天地以要我、左傳 疏晉諸大夫謂皇天后土、實聞君之言、是指天地爲証以與我相要約也、見左傳箋疏、

† 言君將賞善而刑淫、養民如子、蓋之如天、容之如地、見左傳、

‡ 天反時爲災、地反物爲妖、左傳 疏、天反時、地反物、是乃變易天地覆載之常理、故曰災妖、見左傳箋疏、

King we read, "When T'ang, the successful, had secured the favoring decree he had with him Yin, making his virtue like that of great Heaven. T'ae Mow had E Chih and Chin Hoo, through whom his virtue was made to affect Shang-ti." This is an example where in the immediate context Shang-ti is used as another name for Heaven. In explanation of this usage the commentator on this passage says, "When we speak of its [*i.e.* Heaven] covering all things we call it Heaven; when we speak of its ruling and governing we call it Ti, Ruler. In the books, whether it is styled Heaven or Ruler, the one or the other is used according to *that which is referred* to, and these designations are alike honorable."* At page 10 of his "Lectures" Dr. Legge says, "Heaven is styled Shang-ti." But at page 34 he writes as if Shang-ti was some other Being; quoting from Dr. Edkins' Book at p. 18 thus, "I, the son of Heaven, of the Great Pure Dynasty, humbly, as a subject, dare to make the announcement to Imperial Heaven and Sovereign Earth. Throughout the vast world Shang-ti looks on all without partiality." Shang-ti is here only another name for Heaven to which he was making the announcement of his accession to the throne of China. It is Heaven which looks on all with impartiality and from which he had received the appointment.

Bearing this usage of the words in mind, we come to consider the odes which are sung at the time of the sacrifice to Heaven, as quoted by Dr. Legge from the "Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty." I shall take the first one, the translation of which is given in the "Lectures," at p. 48. thus, "When Ti, the Lord, had so decreed, He called into existence the three powers, heaven, earth and man. Between heaven and earth, He separately disposed of men and things all overspread by the heavens. I, his small servant, beg his decree to enlighten me his vassal, so may I forever appear before Him in the empyrean."† In considering this ode, I remark first that it is an ode addressed to Heaven, therefore Heaven is the object or Being addressed. In the first sentence therefore Ti is but the synonym of Heaven. Hwang, which is translated, the Lord, by Dr. Legge, is the honorable designation which was conferred upon Heaven by the Emperor at this very time and which is here applied to Ti as the other name of Heaven, but placed after the noun Ti for rhythm; in plain prose it should therefore read Imperial Ti and not "Ti, the

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* 時則有若伊尹、格於皇天、時則有若伊陟臣扈、格於上帝、
註、自其徧覆言之謂之天、自其主宰言之謂之帝、書或
稱天、或稱帝、各隨所指、非有重輕也、 見書經監本註、

† 帝皇立命分肇三才、中分民物分惟天徧該、小臣誥命、
用光帝陛、庶永配於皇穹哉、

Lord." To make decrees is the prerogative of Heaven, hence this sentence is addressing Heaven as the maker of decrees, or the Decreeer. There are two other designations of the Power addressed in the ode, viz., Heaven which covers all things, and the Imperial Canopy, of which more anon. But the word on which the meaning of the passage turns is the one Dr. Legge translates "called into existence." Let us examine this word to see if this is the correct meaning of it. Dr. Legge gives two references as authority for so translating it. But these are both foreign authorities, viz., Williams' Dictionary, and "its use by those who translated the Bible into Chinese to translate *bara*, to create, either alone or in connection with another word." Using Dr. Young's Analytical Concordance for reference to the passages in which *bara* is found, I have failed to find any instance in which this word "shau" is used alone as a translation of *bara*. I have examined the three most generally known translations, viz., that made by the late Rev. Dr. Medhurst and others, the one known as Bridgman and Culbertson's, and the Mandarin version made by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Schereschewsky. In two passages, viz., Is. xliii: 1 and xliii: 7, I find it in combination with another word used to translate *bara*, but the meaning to "bring into existence" is in the other word which means *to make*. I prefer to get the meaning of Chinese words from Chinese dictionaries, and from their use in standard Chinese writings. Kang Hi defines this word by ch'i, a word which means, "the beginning; to begin, there, was, at that time;" without any element of the idea "to bring into existence." This word is found several times in the Shu King both by itself and in combination with other words. Let us examine these passages to see what is the manner in which it is used in these passages. At page 383 of the Shu, it is used in combination with the word to make—shau tsaou, which Dr. Legge translates "laid the *first beginnings* of the empire," making it a noun "the beginnings." At page 179, Dr. Legge translates this word "from the first." At page 162, he translates it "commenced," but in a note he says that it would be better to understand a verb and render shau by ch'i *first*, ascended the throne;" and with this rendering, the native commentary agrees. At page 195, where it is joined to the verb sin, Dr. Legge renders it "began;" but the native critics render it by "*first*" which gives a better sense, thus "first corrected the bonds which hold men together." At page 38 Dr. Legge translates this word "instituted." This passage is the *very* one to which Kang Hi's Dictionary refers as one in which it has the meaning "*first*." The native critics so render it supplying the word *to divide*, and making the passage to read thus, "Shun *first* divided it

[the country] into twelve provinces," which any one who examines the passage will see is a better rendering than to say "Shun instituted the division of the empire into twelve provinces." Thus Kang Hi's Dictionary and these passages from the Shu give the meaning of shau to be "first," "in the beginning." This is also the meaning of the word as given in the Imperial Thesaurus. Following these authorities in the meaning of this word, and the example of the critics on the Shu text in supplying a verb after it, this sentence will read, "At *the first*, there *were* the three powers," [Heaven, Earth and Man]. This rendering of this passage agrees entirely with the views of the Chinese writers on cosmogony. For if any one will consult the article in the Jan.-Feb. No. for 1881 of *The China Review*, where the views of native and foreign writers are given on cosmogony, it will be seen that there is not one, except these passages quoted from Dr. Legge, that ascribes the creation of Heaven, Earth and Man to a spiritual Being. Dr. Medhurst, who is not referred to in that article, and "whose attainments in Chinese were prodigious," as Dr. Legge says, and to whom, "in token of his admiration of the depth and extent of his acquaintance with the Chinese language and literature," he dedicated one of his pamphlets, says, "the words tsaou hwa here translated 'production and change' are not to be rendered creation and transformation; for the Chinese *have no idea of creation*, as we understand it, viz., *the bringing the world into existence.*" I therefore say, that Dr. Legge has no support, either from the Chinese dictionaries, or the usage of the language by Chinese writers, nor the views of the Chinese on cosmogony, for translating the word shau "called into existence;" and I claim the translation I give, "at *the first* there were the three powers," is supported by the correct principles of interpretation; that it is in entire accord with the views that prevail among the Chinese, and which are commonly expressed by them in regard to the existence of Heaven, Earth and Man.* The remaining clauses of the ode I translate thus, "In the between, men and things were disposed, ah! with Heaven covering all. Thy small servant begs a decree to glorify Ti's *associates*, so that they may forever be associated with the Imperial Canopy." We have seen above that imperial ancestors are associates with Heaven in receiving the sacrifice to Heaven. Hence, I understand the word pei (陪), not as

* To translate the word shau "to call into existence" would make the sentence read that Heaven called *itself* into existence; for Heaven is one of "the three powers." Such a meaning is absurd and finds no support in any Chinese writings.

尊而君之則稱皇天、見爾雅釋天疏查康熙字典皇字便知

惟皇上帝、書湯誥 傳註、皇、大、上帝、天也、見康熙字典皇字註解、

ERRATA.—The two Chinese sentences of the foot of page 186 are misplaced. The first belongs to the word "Hwang," the second in the fifth line from the foot of page 184; and the other to the word "Heaven," in the second line from the foot of the same page.

Page 175, in line 18th from the foot change the comma after the word "verb" to the place after "implied."

Page 176, in second line from the foot, for "amount" read "account."

Page 186, in the eleventh line from the foot supply the word "that" after the word claim, thus—I claim that, etc.

Dr. Legge does to mean the Emperor, who was offering the sacrifice, but to mean the deceased Emperors, who were *mates* of Heaven, or Ti, in receiving the sacrifice: and the meaning is that they receiving the decree of Heaven, would thereby *forever* be associated with Heaven, here styled the "Imperial Canopy." This understanding of the passage is required by the usual meaning of the words. The Emperor when offering the sacrifice to Heaven could not designate himself as the mate of Ti; nor would he ask for himself the honor of being forever associated with the Imperial Canopy. We have seen above that this is the meaning of pei (配). Dr. Legge, in a note to this passage, in his letter to Prof. Müller, *Chi. Rec.*, p. 41, lays great stress on the fact that the preposition yu is found before the words Imperial Canopy. It is true that yu sometimes means *in*, as to place. It is also used in the sense of *with*, as to comparison with, or to be associated *with*. It is also used in cases where in English we would not translate it at all, as in the example given by Premare in his Grammar 問於我 "he asked me." The prefixing of the honorable designation *Imperial* to Canopy, the *very* designation which was conferred upon the Heaven at this time, makes it evident that it was not with heaven as a place, that the ancestors were to be associated, but with personified Heaven, the recipient of the sacrifice. The Chinese say, "honoring Heaven and regarding it as a Sovereign, therefore it is styled Imperial Heaven." In this ode we have Ti hwang; Ti I explain as the other name of Heaven. At p. 185, of the Shu King, we have the phrase "Hwang Shang-ti" which one of the commentators explains thus, "hwang is great, Shang-ti is Heaven."

I therefore present the following as the correct translation of this difficult ode:—"Imperial Ruler, the Decree-er ah! At the first, there were the three powers. In the between, men and things were disposed, ah! Heaven covering all. Thy small servant asks a decree to glorify Ti's associates [*i.e.* the deceased ancestors], so that they may forever be associated with the Imperial Canopy." I ask for it an impartial examination as I claim that it is consistent with every principle of grammar and mythology that is connected with the meaning thereof.

In the prayer which was presented at the same time with the ode, we have the same word *shau* (肇) occur in connection with a verb. "I look up to Thee, mysterious Changer ah! Thou, Imperial great Canopy, this is the time when *first* the masculine energies go forth ah!" * According to the Chinese philosophy, the masculine principle, which is connected with Heaven, or as others would understand it, the principle of light, *first* goes forth at the winter solstice. This is the

* 仰惟玄邁兮、於皇昊穹、時當肇陽兮、

reason why the sacrifice to Heaven is offered at that time. The transformation of nature which is effected by the going forth of the masculine energies is ascribed to Heaven, hence the name here applied to Heaven, mysterious Changer or Transformer. We also find the same designation here applied to Heaven as occurs in the ode, "Imperial great Canopy," thus applying the former designation *great* to it as well as the newly conferred one *Imperial*. The meaning I give to "shau" *first*, gives the proper meaning to this clause of the prayer and thus evidences that it is the correct meaning. The use of the word "yang" as a verb is not very common, but the sense requires it, and Kang Hi defines "yang" as sometimes a verb with the sense of "to spread out."

The other odes which Dr. Legge quotes from the Statutes of the Ming dynasty, also derive much of their theistic meaning from the coloring imparted to them by their Christian translator. When translated into English without such coloring they accord with the statement made by the late Rev. Dr. Medhurst that the Chinese had no idea of a creation out of nothing. The ode which is on the 46th page of the "Lectures" may read thus "Of old, in the beginning, there was the great chaos, without form and dark. The five elements had not begun to revolve, nor the sun and moon to shine. In the midst thereof there existed, ah, neither form nor sound. Thou, Spiritual or divine, Sovereign [*i.e.* Heaven] came forth as a Sovereign; and first, the grosser parts were separated from the purer. Heaven, Earth and Man existed or were established. All things continued to be reproduced."* The word which Dr. Legge translates "madest," in the sentence "madest Heaven," is the same which in a preceding sentence says "in the void nothing existed." There is nothing to indicate that the existence of Heaven, Earth and Man is ascribed to the creating power of Heaven to whom the ode is addressed. It merely asserts the fact of the existence of Heaven, Earth and Man.

The ode which is given on page 47 is also to Heaven and may read thus: "Ti arranged the yin and yang, ah. The production and change proceeded. The Shin, [*i.e.* Heaven] produced the sun, moon and five planets, ah, and their light was pure and beautiful. The round covered and the square contained, and all things were happy. I, servant, presume reverently to thank, ah. Worshipping I offer to Ti the designation, Sovereign." † The characters "tsaou hwa," which

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* 於昔洪荒之初兮、混濛五行未運兮、雨曜未明、其中挺立兮、羣物生生.
兮、有無容聲、神皇出御兮、始判濁清、立天立地人兮、羣

† 帝闢陰陽兮、造化張、神生七政兮、精華光、圖覆方輿兮、兆物康、臣敢祗報兮、拜膺帝曰皇、

Dr. Legge translates "making work," Dr. Medhurst says "should not be translated creation and transformation. The Chinese do not mean by it the original formation of all things, but the constant production of things observable every day." But apart from all question of translation, or how far some idea of creation may have existed among the Chinese, I remark that whatever is said in these odes is written in reference to Heaven to which the sacrifice at that time was offered; and the ascription of any of the works or attributes of the true God to it does not make it to be the true God. Idolatry consists in the ascription of the attributes, worship or works which belong to God only to any other object or Being.

I translate the designation Shang-ti "the Ruler Above," for the following reasons: Ti is explained Ruler by all the Chinese dictionaries and commentators. It is also translated Ruler by all Western translations for these three hundred years; as into Latin, Imperator or Dominator; into French, Empereur, and into English, Ruler. It is also translated Ruler by the Manchu translators, who translated the Chinese Classics into Manchu. The examples of this meaning of the word Ti are found throughout this article, and in the letter to Prof. Max Müller, and in the pamphlet on Shang-ti. That the prefix Shang is properly rendered *above*, I maintain for these reasons: Heaven and Earth are correlates, the one of the other. The one is above, the other is below. Hence the current expression "Heaven is above and Earth is below."* The early and long continued usage is to designate Heaven as *Shang* T'ien—the Heaven *above*. Dr. Legge often so translates this expression. In assigning different parts of nature to the care of different Beings it was not the idea of the Chinese to consider any one as supreme; but that each one should discharge the function which was assigned to it; hence the expression Shang T'ien simply referred to the *location* of Heaven as above—above the Earth and all other things. Since Ti is the synonym of, or another name for, Heaven, when Shang is prefixed to Ti, it has properly the same meaning, and simply refers to its locality. Again Heaven and Earth are constantly referred to as *equal*, as the *two* great objects. They are said to be *equal* in merit, *equal* in the sacrifice offered to them. They are said conjointly to produce all things. While Heaven, or Ti, is said to rule all things, Earth is said to nourish all things. It would therefore be incongruous with this usage, to translate Shang T'ien otherwise than as Heaven above. And so when Shang is prefixed to Ti it is congruous to translate it there also by the word above, the Ruler above. The fact that Ti alone is as often used as the synonym

* 上有天、下有地、

of Heaven as Shang-ti is, shows that there is no special significance in the prefix Shang, it is simply used in reference to its location. To this agree the express words of the Chinese Commentator on the Chau Book of Rites. "Heaven and Ti are one, Heaven speaks of its substance and Ti speaks of its lordship."* In explanation of the phrase, "Great Heaven, The Ruler above" as it occurs in the text, the Commentator says, "By reason of the greatness of its substance, it is called great Heaven; because *the seat* of its lordship *is above*, therefore it is called The Ruler above."† The translation of this term by Supreme Ruler would appear to have been given by those missionaries of the Society of Jesus who contended that Heaven meant the true God, and therefore its synonym meant the Supreme Ruler. And thus from its being similar to the phrase Supreme Ruler in English, which is used by many in speaking of God it has become a current, though incorrect, translation of the Chinese term Shang-ti.

There is another use of the words Ti and Shang-ti, besides their use as another name for Heaven, to which I have not yet adverted. Sometimes they are used in referring to the soul, or the spiritual part of the animated Heaven, as in these passages: "Ti is the Ruler of Heaven. The lord and Ruler of Heaven is designated Ti. The lord and ruler of the body is called the heart."‡ In this passage the idea is evidently to speak of the animated Heaven as composed of the visible Heaven and the animating soul or spirit. As the soul, which animates the human body, is styled the lord and ruler of the body, so the soul of Heaven, here styled Ti, is in that sense the Lord and Ruler of Heaven. But this does not conflict with the statement that the animated Heaven is the Lord and Ruler of *all things*, any more than the fact that the soul of man is the *ruler* of the body conflicts with the statement, that God gave to man "dominion over all the creatures." And this statement that Ti, when used in speaking of the soul of Heaven, is the Lord of Heaven does not support Dr. Legge's statement that Ti when used as another name for Heaven is the Lord of Heaven. For when we say, the soul guides and rules the actions of the body, we do not mean, that the soul is a separate and independent Being from the body, nor do we mean that it is the ruler of the body as Jehovah is the Lord and Ruler of Heaven and Earth and all things.

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* 天與帝一也、天言其體、帝言其主、 周禮以禋祀昊天上帝句註見十八卷程子註.

† 以其氣之浩浩、故曰昊天、以其主位乎上、故曰上帝、 見周禮鄭氏鍔註解卷同上.

‡ 帝者、天之宰也、天之主宰曰帝、身之主宰曰心、

Here is another example of this use of the word. "Heaven and Ti are one. The starry appearance is not Heaven, therefore Heaven cannot be sought in the appearance. To seek Heaven in the appearance differs in what respect from this, viz., to know that man has form, color, mien and appearance, and *not* to know there is the more honorable part, the ruling soul."* This passage refers to Heaven as animated by an intelligent soul, just as man's body is animated by a living soul. But it does not mean that the visible Heaven is no part of the chief Power designated Heaven, any more than it means that the body is no part of man.

I have met with this expression in a prayer offered by the Emperor Tien Hing of Northern Wei dynasty, A.D. 398. Having prepared the sacrifice he prayed thus, "The Emperor, thy servant, Kwei, using the blackish bull, clearly states to *the soul* of Imperial Heaven and Sovereign Earth. Heaven Above has sent down the decree, &c."† In this passage then is a clear and distinct reference to the two component parts of the animated Heaven and Earth, viz., the substance or visible part, and the spirit or soul of each. But it is also clear that the visible object is that to which the sacrifice is offered, while it is also made plain that it is the intelligent soul, which animates the object, that understands the prayer of the worshipper. Just as in worshipping an idol, the worshipper bows before the *visible image*, but he supposes it is the intelligent soul animating the image that receives his prayer. It is also clear in this passage that it is the visible objects that are styled Imperial Heaven, and Sovereign Earth; for the spiritual part is called their soul; just as it is the *images* of the respective idols the goddess of mercy and the war-god that are called Kwáng-yin and Kwan-ti. The Chinese word *ling* in this passage refers to the same part of Heaven-god that Ti does in the other passages.

I have thus presented from Chinese authors their testimony, as to what object is meant when they speak of a ruling power by the word Heaven. The testimony is uniform and the same. Everywhere it is the visible Heaven which is referred to. In recapitulation, I only refer to the two honorable designations which were conferred by Imperial authority. They have continued in use more than 3000 years. The title "great" is stated to have been conferred "in reference

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* 天帝一也、知於異 星人與帝眷 象之元臣我 非有年、珪、祖 天、形定敢宗、 天色都用世 固貌平玄王 不象、城、壯、幽 可而、卽昭都、 以不皇告 象知帝於見 求有位、皇魏 也、心立天書 以君垣后禮 象之兆土志 求尊也、 是何 天祭靈、 上天、地、

† 魏太祖曰、天皇乃命、降

to the greatness of its substance;" the reason for conferring the title Imperial is thus stated, "honoring Heaven and regarding it as a Sovereign, therefore it is styled Imperial Heaven." I have collected nearly a thousand passages in which a ruling power is designated Heaven. In many passages it is spoken of by some one of the many appearances of shape or color which Heaven presents at various times. I have, in this paper, referred to a number of the passages, which have been brought forward, as suggesting the idea of a Spiritual Being to man's minds. I have shown that such passages are not understood in that sense by the Chinese themselves. I have shown that when they refer to a spirit or soul connected with Heaven they refer to an intelligent soul animating the visible Heaven, as the soul animates the body of man. Their conception of the greatness and power of Heaven as a ruling power is taken from its visible greatness as high, and wide and covering all things; its virtue and moral attributes are conceived of, or ascribed to it largely from considering the blessings and mercies which come to mankind from heaven, as the *means* or second cause thereof; as its covering all things on the earth, its sending the rain and the sunshine, and fruitful seasons. Judgments come to mankind from it, as famine, destructive storms, drought and floods. Hence in the state religion the Emperor offers sacrifices and prayers to Heaven, at the altar to Heaven, to obtain the blessings which it confers upon mankind, and to avert the calamities which it sends upon the wicked. In this discussion I have had no other object than to present *fairly* and clearly what the Chinese themselves say in regard to the matter. I have printed the Chinese text of the passages I have quoted, that all who are interested in the subject may judge of the faithfulness of the translation presented. I am, by this repeated examination of the subject, more fully convinced that the opinion, in regard to the object worshipped in the state religion of China under the designation Heaven, *being the visible Heaven* deified, which has been held so long, and by so many writers of all creeds, is most certainly *correct*. I leave those who have read these pages to form their own opinions in regard to the matter. I feel assured that, with the spread of the Gospel, this the most ancient form of idolatry will perish from off the earth, with all other forms of idolatry, and that the one living and true God, who is indeed the Ruler over all, will be worshipped in the place of Heaven, by the Ruler of this people.

鳳洲綱鑑

重訂王世貞

A COMPENDIUM OF HISTORY IN THIRTY VOLUMES. BY WONG SHI-CHING, AN EMINENT SCHOLAR OF THE MING DYNASTY, A.D. 1526—1590.

By Rev. T. P. Crawford, D.D., of Tungchow.

No. II.

THE TEN ANCIENT PERIODS.

"CH'IN SZE-MING says, according to the 'Annals of the Original Book of the Law' (a lost work) it is said that, counting from the origin of heaven and earth to the production of the (Confucian) Analects in the 14th year of Prince Lu Ai-kung, or to the era of his capture of the *lin* (1) (B.C. 481), there had passed in all 3,267,000 years,* divided into 10 *ki* (十紀) (2) or *Ten Periods.*"

I.

"The first period is called Keu-t'eu ki (the period of the 'Nine Heads,' or of the 'Nine Names'). It is the same as the Jin-hwong-sze (or the Reign of man (人皇). The ancients say that there was one person to each head, since the Jin-hwong period was composed of brethren nine persons" (images represented as presiding over the 9 divisions of the cycle?) 9 names (姓).

II.

"The second period is called the Wu-lung ki, (and the Wu-hwong ki, or the period of the 'Five Dragons,' or 'Five Great Chiefs). They are designated as Hwong-peh, Hwong-tsung, Hwong-su, Hwong-ki, and Hwong-siao. These chiefs reigned over the five points (of the compass), (3) controlled the five elements of nature, adorned the five sacred mountains, and succeeded the Jin-hwong chiefs in the government of the world. At that time men took refuge in nests on the trees, and in caves of the earth; for the sun and moon were then clear and bright." (The Lu-sze says, this was also called the 'Five Names period'). 5 names (姓).

III.

"The third period is called Sheh-t'i ki, composed of fifty-nine names. These chiefs succeeded the Wu-lung chiefs in the government. They divided the world and dwelt therein." 59 names (姓).

* The Lu-sze history has only 2,276,000 years, and regards 291,840 as the better number. It reckons 167,000 years to each of the '10 *ki*,' but this would make 1,670,000, neither of the above sums. These various estimates were doubtless made *after* Confucius had become famous, and are therefore comparatively modern. *They are not a part of the annals.*

IV.

"The fourth period is called Hwo-loh ki, composed of three names. These chiefs succeeded the Sheh-t'i chiefs in the government. They first taught the people to dwell permanently in caves." 3 names (姓).

V.

"The fifth period is called Lien-t'ung ki, composed of six names. These chiefs succeeded the Hwo-loh chiefs in the government." 6 names (姓).

VI.

"The sixth period is called Sü-ming ki, composed of four names. These chiefs succeeded the Lien-t'ung chiefs in the government." 4 names (姓).*

VII.

"The seventh period is called Sün-fei ki." (22 names (氏). found elsewhere).

VIII.

"The eighth period is called Yin-t'i ki." (13 names (氏), elsewhere),

IX.

"The ninth period is called Shen-t'ung ki." (19 names (氏), elsewhere).

X.

"The tenth period is called Sü-yih ki." (7 names (氏)* to the Hia dynasty, also found elsewhere).

[From the Jin-hwong sze, or the reign of man, to the Sü-ming ki (No. VI.) there were in all 83 rulers (君). From Sün-fei ki downwards the *shi* (世), or generations composing them are recorded in order. The Shen-t'ung ki ends at Yen-ti (also called Shin-nu), and the Sü-yih begins with Whong-ti (黃帝) and ends with the Chow dynasty (周朝). Though the statements in regard to those ages are numerous, yet for the want of facts many of them are too doubtful to bear inspection. While men are the most intelligent of beings, their abilities are not all the same. Some are naturally superior to others and so become the rulers. Even among the bees and the ants such is the case, then how much more will it be so among men? Whether the opinion that there were no rulers prior to P'an-ku be false or not is difficult to say, and whether the opinion that they began (immediately) after Jin-hwong is false or not is doubtful. However, as a historian, I must be cautious as to those past ages of the world, and faithfully record the titles of the various rulers, reject absurdities and retain such as are realities.

I shall therefore arrange the annals beginning from the Sün-fei ki in regular order that they may be thoroughly inspected.]

* The *shing* (姓) is the family name. The *sze* (氏) is the clan name, or chief of the clan. They are sometimes used together, as *shing sze*, and interchangably.

"Sün-fei ki," (in detail).

[In the Sün-fei period virtue and faith were profoundly established, and men followed instruction with the greatest alacrity. The titles of the *sze*, or principal chiefs, are given in this ki, but not the number of their *shi*, or generations.* In all 22 *sze*.]

Their titles are as follows:—

1. "*Kü-ling sze.*"

[This Chief arose on the Fân-tsu river. He could hold a great elephant, and scatter the forces of the Five Giants† (五丁之士). He could chase away day and night, and overturn the hills and streams. He had no fixed abode, and his foot-prints are at Shu (蜀). He was probably born at Fân-tsu, a place said to be on the Fân-yin-tsu river.]

2. "*Kü-kiang sze.*"
3. "*Ch'ao-ming sze.*"
4. "*Tsao-kwong sze.*"
5. "*Kü-tsin sze.*"
6. "*Hwong-shin sze.*"
7. "*Kü-shin sze.*"
8. "*Li-ling sze.*"
9. "*Ta-wei sze.*"
10. "*Kwei-wei sze.*"
11. "*Hi-tsze sze.*"
12. "*Kai-fung sze.*"
13. "*Yen-shang sze.*"
14. "*Kai-ying sze.*"
15. "*Ta-tun sze.*"
16. "*Ling-yang sze.*"
17. "*Wu-ch'ang sze.*"
18. "*T'ai-yih sze.*"

[T'ai-yih sze (great one) is an exalted, and vast ruling spirit, the real divinity of the bright throne; a pure and boundless essence, without form or taste. He is able to understand and to hold firm his purposes, as well as to direct and continue them.] (This as I take it is an explanation of the meaning of the title of this chief).

19. "*K'ung-sang sze.*"

[The capital of K'ung-sang was five (Eng.) miles to the south of Ch'in-lieu hien, where the noted Minister Yih-yin was born.]

20. "*Shin-min sze.*"

[Some say this chief was a divine ruler since he could cause both gods and men to change their affairs, and since his spirit pervaded every place.]

21. "*Yih-ti sze.*"
22. "*Tsze-min sze.*"

[In the times of Tsze-min sze caves ceased to be used as dwelling places.]

* The Lu sze, however, says there were '60 odd *shi*.'

† Perhaps 'Five Heroes' would be a better rendering.

"*Yin-t'i ki,*" (*in detail.*)

[The government of Yin-t'i was beneficial to posterity. It has the titles of the principal chiefs as well as the number of their generations (*shi* 世). The whole period contained 13 chiefs (*sze* 氏). Their names and order are as follows:]

1. "*Ch'in-fang sze.*"

[Men in early times used leaves for clothing; but Ch'in-fang sze taught his people to plait bark into garments with which to protect their bodies from the wind and frost; also to twist up their hair in such a manner as to shield their heads from the spring rains. Those who followed his instructions were called 'the clothed and civilized folks.' This sze contained 4 generations.]

2. "*Shu-san sze.*"

[The foundation of the kingdom was laid at Shu (蜀) beginning from Jin-hwong, or the reign of man. Ts'an-ts'ung, Peh-hu, and Yü-tao were three of its rulers. Each continued several hundred years. The title (of the kingdom) was Shu san (蜀山).(5) Ts'an-ts'ung dwelt at Kü-shang (瞿上). Yü-tao ruled over the Tao (導江) river down to the Rush Marsh. But the language under this head is too defective for scholars to make out the text, or to hand down its meaning. It is said that Wong-ti (望帝) long afterwards filled in the missing characters.] (No generations given.)

3. "*Kwei-wei sze.*"

[This sze contained 6 generations.]

4. "*Hwun-tun sze.*"

[This sze contained 7 generations.]

5. "*Tung-hu sze.*"

[Tsze-sze (the grandson of Confucius) says, that the Tung-hu (Eastern House) was an illustrious age. It followed a time of confusion, but exerted a most excellent influence; which, by retiring modesty, it left behind it. During its reign even the birds and beasts were amiable, and the trees and bamboos grew rapidly. The people traveling on the high ways did not pick up the articles dropped by others. The farmers had abundance of food, and each kept within his own boundaries. The people sang without laciviousness and mourned without noise; for it was an age of unusual virtue. This sze contained 17 generations.]

6. "*Hwong-t'an sze.*"

[Some say this sze was also called Li-kwong sze. The preface to the "Annals(6) of the Law" says, that while Hwong-t'an was on the throne the people needed not to be governed, as heaven, earth, officials, and all things believed in the sovereign without false pretences. Hence both the dead and the living kept to their places, and so there were no usurpations among them. This sze contained 7 generations.

7. "*K'i-t'ung sze.*"

[This sze contained 3 generations.]

8. "*Ki-yih sze.*"

(No generations given under this head.)

9. "*Ki-kü sze.*"

[K'ang-ts'ang-tsze says that during this reign it was also unnecessary to govern the people as they did not rebel. The chief, by following his ears and eyes, understood both internal and external affairs. The people only knew who were their mothers, but not who were their fathers. They lived like quaïls, were without desires or aspirations, wandering about by day and passing the night among their friends. They wrapped their dead in straw mats and placed them aloft to be dissolved by the wind. The Ming-li (Book of the Law) says that people who understand life are not difficult to govern. The expression, 'Lived like quails,' means that the people had no permanent places of abode, and were fed like young birds.]

(This has no generation mentioned, but the Lu sze gives it 1.)

10. "*Hi-wei sze.*"

[This contained 4 generations.]

11. "*Yeu-ts'ao sze.*"

[This contained 2 generations, and is discussed elsewhere.]

12. "*Sui-jin sze.*"

[This contained 8 generations, and is also discussed elsewhere.] (The Lu sze gives it only 4 generations.)

13. "*Yung-ch'ing sze.*"

[There is a plain in the jade-stone mountains of Ar-wu-yei within the boundaries of which was the place of the library where Yung-ch'ing sze preserved the annals of the former kings.(7) It contained 8 generations.]

"*Shen-t'ung ki,*" *(in detail.)*

[*Shen-t'ung* is said to mean the virtue of devout meditation on, and thorough comprehension of, the doctrines of heaven. It contained 19 *sze*,* or principal chiefs, as follows.]

"*Huen-yuen sze.*"

[This sze reigned on the north of Kiung-sang. He studied things in order to gain wisdom. Seeing the floss of the metals rolling on the ground like a wheel, he invented the chariot, the axle of which is called *huen*, and the shafts *yuen*; hence the title of Huen-yuen, as above.]

(The Compendium does not give the number of the *shi* or generations under the various divisions of the Shen-t'ung ki, but the Lu-sze does so, and I shall add them from it. To this head it gives 3 generations.)

2. "*Tsu-yung sze.*"

[During this sze the state was harmonious and received the blessings of light. The Chief from hearing the songs of birds at Yen-chow made musical instruments to regale the gods in company with the human voice. He also used the element of fire to instruct his people, and so obtained the title of the 'Vermilion Ruler,' and in after ages was enrolled among the Five gods. His capital was at Kwai, and he was buried on the southside of the Hûng mountain.

* (The Lu sze gives it only 18 sze.)

According to Peh-hu-t'ung, the *tsu* of this title means, 'to follow,' and the *yung*, to 'succeed to'; implying that Tsu-yung sze was able to follow and succeed to the doctrines of the 'San-hwong' or the Rulers of heaven, earth and man.]

(The Lu sze has 2 generations.)

3. "*Tai-hao Fu-hi sze.*"

(This name stands as a general head here, without remarks or generations, but it is discussed at large in another place.)

4. "*Sze-hwong sze.*"

[This chief is called Ts'ang-ti. His given name was Kieh, (generally known as Ts'ang-kieh). He had illustrious abilities by which he was able to write from birth. When grown to manhood he ascended the Yang-hü mountain overlooking the dark rolling waters of a branch of the river Loh, and seeing a 'divine tortoise' bearing on its reddish back writings in darkish lines he took possession of it, and so succeeded in obtaining a thorough knowledge of the changes going on in heaven and earth. Looking up at the figure which would be made by the circular and winding line on joining the 16 stars of the 15th constellation together, then looking down at the lines formed on the back of the tortoise, then on the feathers of birds, then on the hills and streams, and lastly on the palm and fingers of the human hand, he invented the characters (for divination?) The characters being completed the heavens rained profusely and the ghosts wept at night. Ts'ang-ti dwelt at Yang-wu and was buried at Li-hiang.*]

(It has 1 generation.)

5. "*Peh-hwong sze.*"

(It has 20 generations.)

6. "*Tsung-yang sze.*"

(It has 4 generations.)

7. "*Ta-ting sze.*"

(It has 5 generations.)

8. "*Li-lu sze.*"

(It has 5 generations.)

9. "*Kwun-lien sze.*"

(It has 11 generations.)

10. "*Heh-shu sze.*"

(It has 1 generation.)

11. "*Kwo-t'ien sze.*"

(It has 4 generations.)

12. "*Tsun-lu sze.*"

(It has 5 generations.)

13. "*Hao-ying sze.*"

(It has 9 generations.)

14. "*Yeu-ts'ao sze.*"

(It has 7 generations.)

15. "*Chü-shang sze.*"

(It has 3 generations.)

* (The Lu sze says Sze-hwong was prince of a subject state. If so he is not in the chronological line.)

16. "*Ying-kang sze.*"
(It has 2 generations.)
17. "*Wu-hwai sze.*"
(It has 6 generations.)
18. "*Neu-hwong sze,*" (or *Neu-wa sze.*)
(It has no generations.)
19. "*Shin-nu sze.*"
(It has no generations here.*)

[In my stupid opinion regarding those ancient times (says the historian) all the persons named in the list from Sze-hwong sze to Wu-hwai sze lived prior to T'ai-hao Fuh-hi; but as Ch'in-sze-ming thinks that only Huen-yuen and Tsu-yung (No. 1 and 2) should come before T'ai-hao Fuh-hi, I have here followed his order of arrangement.

Ting-nan-hu says that Fuh-hi sze is also called Pao-hao sze; that Shin-nu sze is called Lieh-san sze, Lien-san sze, and Yih-hi sze. Thus we see that the ancient kings had many titles and designations. The 'San-hwong' were the sons of heaven, and their 'junior brethren' 30 persons,† I suppose were princes without titles. Looking at the names Kü-ling, Ch'in-fang, and other titles of the kind, it is uncertain whether they are designations of different individuals, or different designations of the same individual.

"*Sü-yih ki,*" (*in part.*)

[The *sü* in this name means far-reaching knowledge, and the *yih* the profound perception of benevolence, righteousness, doctrine, and virtue. This period begins with Whong-ti, (or the Yellow Emperor) and extends to the Chow dynasty.‡ From the Three Rulers downwards we have the titles of the Governors of the world, but not their history in detail. We know not their family names, the years of their generations (年代), or the places of their capitals, yet the saying of some that no rulers or kings succeeded Jin-hwong is certainly erroneous.

I have followed Ch'in-sze-ning's mode of arranging these annals of the past ages of the world, adding comments thereon that scholars may have the means of investigating the subject as presented below.]

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

I must here suspend my translation for the present; but I will now give, in advance of their place in the work, those 7 names with the years of their reigns which are found in the first part of the Su-yih ki, that the reader may have in one article and consecutively all the

* (In another place 7 successors are put after Shin-nu, but it is doubtful whether they are in the chronological line, being regarded as princes of a subject state. Their names are:—1. Ti-ling kwei; 2. Ti-ch'ing; 3. Ti-ming; 4. Ti-yih; 5. Ti-lai; 6. Ti-li; 7. Ti-yü-wong.)

† The San-hwong (Three Rulers) I understand to be the *centers* of the three cycles of 13, 11, and 9 divisions respectively, and their 'junior brethren thirty persons,' to be the 12, 10, and 8 equal parts into which the *rims* of the cycles were divided, each represented by an *image* with a human head, combined with a dragon, horse, ox, or sheep's body, &c., &c.

‡ (Others close it with the great Yü, first sovereign of the Hia dynasty.)

titles in the old annals from their beginning down to the Hia dynasty, where Chinese history proper is supposed to open, at B.C. 2,205.([8])

The seven names are as follows:—

	Years.
1. Whong-ti, or Yeu-hiung sze	111.([9])
2. Shao-hao, or Kin-t'ien sze	84.
3. Chwan-hü, or Kao-yang sze	78.
4. Ti-k'u, or Kao-shin sze...	70.
5. Ti-tsze	9.
6. T'ang-yao, or Kao-t'ang sze	72.
7. Yü-shun, or Yeu-yü sze	61.
	485.=(16 *shi*.

This 485 years is equal 16 generations of 30 years each, and a fraction of 5.)

TO SUM UP.

1. The Compendium sums up the *sze* in the first four of the 10 ki as 83, but gives only 82 in the detail. On the other hand the Lu-sze sums them up as only 81, while he gives 82 in the detail. Perhaps the *center* in the cycle of the first or Keu-t'eu ki is counted in the one case, and left out in the other by both of the authors.
2. The Compendium gives to the Shen-t'ung ki 26 *sze*, and the Lu-sze 25 *sze*. In other places there is entire agreement as to the names and the number of the sze, chief. Total of the 10 ki, by the former in detail, 147 sze. Total of the 10 ki, by the latter in detail, 146 sze.
3. The Compendium says the *shi* or generations are not recorded in the first seven ki, but the Lu-sze mentions '60 odd *shi*,' in a note, as said to be contained in the seventh, or sun-fei ki. On what authority it does not state.
4. The Compendium gives to the eighth, or yén-t'i ki, 66 shi; but the Lu sze gives it only 66 shi.
5. To the ninth, or Shen-t'ung ki, the Compendium does not give the *shi*, though it mentions the fact that it had them. The Lu-sze however gives them as 88 *shi*.
6. In the tenth, or Sü-yih ki, neither work mentions the *shi*. (Estimated by me as *shi* 16.) The total number of the *shi* in the whole ten ki cannot be ascertained from either of these authors; as it was, in their first portions, evidently wanting in the original text that once existed in China.
7. The intelligent reader has now sufficient data to enable him to compose these dynastic periods with those found in Babylonia, Egypt, Persia, India, and Genesis, all of which seem manifestly to have come from the same general source. Fortunately for us, Genesis, chapters 5 and 11, gives them in terms of *years* and in regular order.
8. Considering the many ages through which these annals have past they are still in an excellent state of preservation, and are also of the highest value as will be shown in a future article.

NOTES ON THE PRECEDING TRANSLATION.

(1) The '*lin*' is the Chinese Unicorn, a kind of large elk, said to announce the rise of a sage. Prince Lu-Ai-kung, so the story goes, went hunting in the 14th year of his reign and caught a strange animal which he brought to his court. At that time Confucius was there preparing his Analects shortly before his death. The diviners it seems pronounced the animal to be the fabulous "*lin*," which, according to the ancient tradition, heralds the arrival of a sage, implying doubtless that the Prince was the man; but *afterwards* Confucius obtained the honor. Thus the capture of the *lin*, the finishing of the Analects, and Confucius' death soon after, united in making it an *era* in Chinese history.

(2) A ki (紀) has various applications. It is used *indefinitely* for a section of consecutive history &c.; *definitely* for certain astronomical numbers or periods of time, as 12 years &c. The Compendium, page 48 says, '720 make a *ki*' (cycle), and 1440 a *cheu*' (cycle). These two numbers are, one the half, and the other the whole of a 'Cynic cycle,' counting, as in China, 360 days to the year. See Webster's Dictionary for a clear definition of the Cynic cycle.

(3) The *center* is always considered as a point in all Chinese cycles, as the 5 points of the compass &c.

(4) The *shi* (世), when used *numerically*, always equals 30 years, being the 48th part of a *cheu* or 'Cynic cycle' of 1440 common years; and the *sze* (氏), most probably in ancient times, for 60 years or the 24th part of it—they being '*chief*' divisions, like we now say a 'sovereign,' a 'napoleon,' an 'eagle' for certain chief coins among us.

(5) The names 'Shu-san,' 'Tao-river,' and 'Rush-marsh' remind one of the Shu-shan city, the Choaspes river, and the Chaldean marshes in the province of Lusiana in Persia. The identification of these names may help to determine the region where the first 'kingdom or reign of historic man began.

(6) The terms 'Annals of the original law,' the 'Annals of the law,' and the 'Law,' all refer, I suppose, to the same lost book or ancient scriptures (元命包) These names of the work remind us of the Jewish 'Book of the law,' the 'Law,' &c. The Chinese historians also speak of a *wai sze* (外史) or Foreign history as likewise a source of information regarding the remote ages of the world.

(7) This reminds us of what Berosus says about Sisittrus preserving the Records of the antediluvian kings.

(8) The 10 ki are by many supposed to end with the great Yü, or first Sovereign of the Hia Dynasty. In that case his name, and years 8, must be added to those above given to the Sü-yih ki, and B.C. 2,197, will be their end instead of 2,205. But these dates are uncertain.

(9) Chinese regular chronology in *years* begins with the 61st year of Whong-ti(黃帝) commonly placed by foreign writers at B.C. 2,637. But the reader should not put too much stress on these dates in his studies of comparative chronology. It is generally said that Whong-ti *named* the years in the cycle of 60, corrected the calender &c. At least from his name down, the old mode of keeping time by *sze* and *shi* seems to have changed to the modern one of *reigns* and *years*. I may here mention that I regard the Chinese *sze* and the Chaldean *sar*-us, of Berosus as the same word—the same as the Hebrew *sar*, Persian *shah*, &c.,—"a Prince, Chief, Head-man," and the like.

The reader must remember that all words and phrases between dashes or parentheses in the translation are my additions, while those in quotation marks and brackets are from the Compendium, the former in large type the latter in small.

(*To be continued*).

NOTES ON THE ETHICAL AND CHRISTIAN VALUE OF CHINESE RELIGIOUS TRACTS AND BOOKS.

IT has been stated that a certain Christian monk who had led a vicious life, was saved from hell, because it was found that his sins, though very numerous, were just out-numbered by the letters of a ponderous and devout book he had written; the escape was, however, a narrow one, for there was only one letter against which no sin could be adduced. Though such instances of religious work are rare in Europe, they are numerous enough in China. I confess to a strong feeling of interest in any book, whatever may be its literary merits, written by a so-called heathen as an atonement for his sins. Instead of thinking unkindly of the book, or supposing that the author had thereby added to his sins, and made his recovery more difficult, I am disposed to regard such as not far from the kingdom of Heaven. What a capital plan it would be to lessen iniquity, if we could compel all sinners, everywhere, to leave their sins, and commence to write a religious book! Perhaps the reading of such productions would be a much more severe penance than the writing. But, to be serious, such books existing in any country, must be religious books; pre-eminently religious, written with a religious motive, not professionally, or for financial considerations, but with the purpose of making amends for evil already wrought.

If there are not religious books of great interest to a Christian missionary, then where, when, and by whom have religious books been written and circulated. Between their covers, the truth may lack harmony, the doctrine may be imperfect, the light may mix with darkness, and the whole may be wrapped in considerable confusion and obscurity. Yet they bear a very interesting relation to the truth, and are the schoolmasters and heralds to bring men to Him in whom all truth centres; books whose hopes are attained, prophecies fulfilled, and laws obeyed by Him who came not to destroy, but to conserve and fulfil all that is true and excellent in any and every religion. The Great Book shows God seeking to save man; the lesson books show man seeking God that he may be saved. Error may exist side by side with truth, the treasure may be in a vessel very earthen, and there may be but very little treasure in the vessel, but what good and helpful book written by man has yet attained perfection?

I have assumed that the religious books of the Chinese are of some value for Christian purposes. I know there are different opinions upon this part of the question, but these differences will be explained

by the spirit and method we adopt when we set out upon such an inquiry. If we begin differently, we cannot end alike. There are at least two methods open to us—the sectarian and the scientific. The former starts with the opinion that there is nothing good or true outside of Nazareth; all religions, except Christianity, are false, merely false, and entirely false.

"The primrose on the river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more."

But to the other view—"There are more things in heaven and earth, than are dreamt of in his philosophy;" therefore such religions are regarded as "great historical phenomena, having a place, and a purpose in the providence of God." "For what were called false religions were real religions, as real to those who held them as ours is to us. The matter of belief might be false, but it was not falsely believed."* The matter of belief might grow corrupt and that which at one time had moral power, might lose, at another, its force and efficacy. Believing that each missionary has full liberty to select his own view, I have adopted the second. I shall therefore attempt to view the Chinese religious books in this latter spirit, and seek for the hidden and underlying principles, rather than the mere verbal arrangement or selections of words; for these latter are often accidental, local, and illusory; but we commonly find in books a verbal difference with a unity of principle. I want to seek and find what the authors and readers mean and understand, and not what outsiders think they mean; I want to know *what* is said rather than *who* said it. Believing that truth in any religious book must be helpful to the possession and propagation of more and fuller truth; and accepting as a general principle of judgement in doubtful cases, the Lord's own verdict: "He that is not against us, is for us," I reach the conclusion that the religious books of the Chinese are helpful. But this paper will only introduce the subject.

Notwithstanding a strong tendency in some quarters to separate religion from morals, theology from ethics, yet the majority of religious books unite and connect them.

In the Chinese books there is more about morals than theology, for the theology is usually taught indirectly when some positive command is enforced, or some duty, such as prayer and worship, is inculcated; but the structure of the question here treated enables me to leave out all references to theology. But I will just say this, that the frequent reference to some deity or idol, which so often accompanies a valuable exhortation to duty, and yet which so often puzzles

* Fairburn.

a Christian missionary, is, if rightly understood, a help to a truer theology. If we show the more relevant application of all good precepts, wherever they may be found, to the only true God, we have some principle to act upon. The command has been, in theological ignorance, enforced by reference to an idol. The Christian missionary shows that the principle of application is true, but the object happens to be false; and this error, under the circumstances, is unfortunately inevitable. The motive which leads an idolater, in ignorance, to seek for the name of some superhuman power with which to connect and enforce his lessons of virtue, will certainly lead him to a higher and supreme superhuman power, when hi knowledge will permit of such reference. "How can they believe on Him of whom they have not heard?"

Before proceeding to details, I may say that in the few books I have examined I have found, at least, the following great truths. I. Man ought to be virtuous. II. Man actually is sinful. III. Man should repent. Such are indeed the chief truths found in these books, as they are the chief truths of subjective Christianity. With regard to the style and composition of these books, some are fussy, written merely for the style, most of such are in verse; poems and odes are numerous, these often require much reading to understand, but a few of them are simple and popular.

In prose all styles are found—classical, mandarin, and colloquial or simple prose composition. The besetting sin of most writers is a mania for numberless introductions; the object of desire being to obtain as many of these empty and useless articles—the imprimatur of reputed great men—as possible. It is a popular hobby, a literary mania to contribute or collect there unsuggestive leading articles. I commenced to count the number written for a small tract called "A Record of Reverence and Faith," and when I reached the number of fifty, I found some other occupation. These inevitable introductions far exceeded the original book in bulk. There use is to confirm by "testimony" the value and efficacy of the book. Interesting sentences are sometimes written on the covers:—"If you do not read, present it to one who can." "When read pass to others." "He who speaks to others concerning the things herein written will be made happy."

But the most perplexing chapter in almost every book is the Index. It certainly indicates what may be expected between the covers, but its methods of order and arrangement are astonishingly peculiar. I will illustrate this point by giving a rapid and free translation of this chapter found in three or four books:—No. 1. *The Compass and Guide*, in twelve sections. Introduction or simple words

of explanation. Section I. Fundamentals. II. The Three Sects. III. Heresy. IV. Causes of misery. V. Merciful deliverance. VI. Explanation of doctrine. VII. Examination of fundamentals. VIII. Refutation of the corrupt. IX. Reverence for the correct. X. On the formation of virtue. XI. Enlightenment on little things. XII. On the training and teaching of women, ("which," it adds in the body of the book, "is most difficult to accomplish;" and appeals to Confucius for confirmation of its remark "that if you are kind to women they will become proud, and if you neglect to show kindness they grow angry!") Then follows:—A brief summary of the preceding twelve sections. Ten poems to arouse the age. Sixteen wise sayings. Seventeen great lights. Twenty-five odes to enlighten the ignorant. The final sentence being the consummation of the state of Nirvana. "No humanity, no ego, no personality."

No. 2. *A Lamp for a Dark House*, in two parts. Part I. Two introductions, one said to be an "inspiration" from the God of Letters, who desired to enlighten the world. Thirteen Sections, viz.:—Explanation and remarks upon previous editions. On reverence for the immortal beings. Composition by the God of Letters to enlighten the world. On the great happiness of those who have truth and virtue. On contentment. On discontent. Vanity of all visible things. Warning from the God of War to arouse the world, with three contributions to prove the reality of the exhortation, and a further contribution to scare the careless! Original discourse on the truth of Buddhism and Taoism. An essay written on the issue of a new edition of Rewards and Punishments, with six testimonies to its truth. The renewed commands of the God of Letters composed for and printed with the Better Self. New exhortation to prevent infanticide. Dispelling doubts. Part II. Twenty-two Sections, viz.:—General warnings and admonitions. Revere Heaven. On filial piety. Further reasons for filial piety. Brotherly love. Conjugal duties. Loyalty. On Friendship. Compassionate Teaching. Purity of life. Geomancy. Against inciting litigation. Against cheating. Against cruelty. Against secret sins. On the excellency of virtue. On humility. On patience. On language. On the proper treatment of teachers. Against killing (animals for food). Words and sayings to be ever before one. Concluding with sundry efficacious medical prescriptions for the removal of sickness.

No. III.—*Records of Rapid Retribution.* In four vols. Vol. 1. Section I. Holy Teaching. Section II. Record of merit and sin. Vol. 2. On the blessedness of virtue. Vol. 3. On the wretchedness of vice. Vol. 4. Healing words, and sundry odes and poems.

Of the other books examined I would mention, as most worthy of notice. *The Records of Mutual Virtue*, a work of ten vols., reprinted

in Shanghai about thirteen years ago (同善錄). This is the most valuable work I have seen, and a careful perusal will show the excellence and defects of Chinese religious literature. I can but refer my readers to the book, which, I think, every student missionary ought to carefully read. It is a kind of encyclopedia of native religious tract literature. Most of the smaller and popular books have been collected and may here be conveniently found.

I will now briefly notice some of the teachings of these books. The following truths are taught:—I. Man ought to be good, ought to act virtuously. Though this great truth is often stated in singular methods, yet the truth is dearly and exhaustively taught, and I have not met in any Christian or other book, a fuller statement of man's moral obligation; for these books say that—1. Man must *be* good, and then *do* good. 2. That the good to be real must proceed from the heart. 3. That the good *per se* is precious. Happily in theory, at least, the Chinese are not utilitarian.

There is no perfect decalogue, equal to the Jewish, although there are several imperfect decalogues in existence; but there is a constant appeal to the moral nature of man—virtue's innate law.

Definitions of the good are numerous.

A decalogue by the God of Letters.

一戒淫行 未見不可思 當見不可亂 既見不可憶 於處女寡婦尤宜愼

二戒惡惡 勿藏險心 勿動妄念 勿記讎不釋 勿見利而謀 勿見財而嫉 貌慈心狠者尤宜愼

三戒口過 勿談閨闈 勿訐陰私 勿揚人短 勿設雌黃 勿造歌謠 勿毀聖賢 於尊親死亡者尤宜愼

四戒曠功 勿早眠遲起 勿舍己耘人 勿爲財勢奔馳 勿學爲無益 勿見異思遷 身在心馳者尤宜愼

五戒廢字 勿以舊書裹物糊窗 勿以廢文燒茶拭桌 勿塗抹好書 勿溷寫門壁 勿暱詩稿 勿擲文尾 於途間穢中尤宜愼 並戒不敬惜字於未有之前

六敦人倫 父子主恩 尤當喻之以義 君臣主敬 尤當引之以道 兄弟相愛 尤當勉之以正 朋友有信 尤當勸以有成 夫婦相和 尤當敬而有別 處人倫之變者尤宜愼

七淨心地 玩古訓以懲心 坐靜室以收心 寡酒色以清心 卻私慾以養心 尤當悟至理以明心 愼幽獨以問心

八立人品 敏事愼言 志高身下 膽大心小 救今從古 棄邪歸正 思君子之九思 畏聖人之三畏 尤當不恤人言

九愼交遊 始終不怠 內外如一 貴賤不二 死生不異 功過相規 棄浮薄而親直諒 絕奸狂而交中正 尤當立身爲萬世友

十廣教化 遇上等人說性理 遇下等人說因果 多刻善書 多講善行 尤當攻邪崇正 以衛吾道

The first five are prohibitive. *First* and *Third* equal the seventh and ninth of the Jewish decalogue, with the Christian elaboration found in Matt. v. 27, 28. *Second.* Abstain from all manner of evil thoughts. *Fourth.* Avoid all that is waste of time, or useless and unprofitable labor. *Fifth.* Do not destroy literature or printed paper. *Sixth.* Keep faithfully all duties required by your relation to man, as a son be filial, as a friend be sincere. *Seventh.* Keep your heart pure. *Eighth.* Establish and edify your character. *Ninth.* Avoid all evil associations. *Tenth.* Spread widely your religion, by speaking good words, and circulating religious books.

Here is another decalogue.

一盡忠孝 既仕則盡其事 無一刻不守寅恭 未仕則存其心 無一時不懷利濟 敬在養先 敬惟恐其不足 養在生前 養惟恐其不及 體念於微 善承於繼 推愛以愛之而孝全

二慎言行 言必有物 非法不道 善則揚而惡則隱 句句揆度厥心 乃不失口 行必有恆 非禮勿爲 正道道而邪徑辟 愼乃在躬 乃不失足

三篤學問 學古有訓 書囊無底 博以返約 精義始可入神 勿事涉獵 毋尙粗疎 就有道而問 虛心下氣 考據精詳 得失有鏡 如問途之必己經 倘問非所答 隱而勿斥

四廣仁愛 仁施者廣 兼及人物 惻然惕然 如赤子之從井 此心常存 天理得而私欲克 愛有所惠 流膏布澤 觸目而存 勿事沽名 勿求妄報 體天行澤 常得春和

五惜物力 物乃天生 爲人所用 用之既竭 物力盡疲 力由人出 人宜共惜 用之太耗 力氣自餒 暴殄天物 古人戒之

六謹威儀 有威可畏 有儀可象 實爲定命之符 日事傲慢 小人近焉 日守虔恭 君子親焉

七惜字紙 片紙隻字 創自古人 讀古人書 當惜其字 下筆須愼 名經勿毀 點畫勿棄 三者戒之 乃爲眞惜

八創義舉 惠及千人 惠及百世 厥爲義舉 創造育嬰 建修普濟 其類甚繁 舉不勝舉 因時布置 不遺餘力

九純心性 心雜則百惡可萌 心純則平旦有氣 性本純一 習而生矯 恣意妄爲 皆性所造 心性兩純 念慮正焉

十敬天神 明明者天 赫赫者神 屋漏無私 神目若電 人世舉措 順逆通塞 皆天所定 順而通當思仰報 逆而塞當思克省 何怨何尤 不愧不怍 天神鑒焉 右訓士十則

I. The Jewish fifth commandment, with the addition of loyalty to Rulers. II. Be careful in word and deed. III. Seek true wisdom. IV. Grow in humanity and love. V. Kindly care for all beings (both man and bird and beast). VI. Be careful in deportment and conduct. VII. Care for letters. VIII. Establish works of charity,—

schools and foundlings. IX. Be perfectly pure in heart and character. X. Show reverence for Heaven and the gods. *Observe* how this last precept takes the opposite position in the Jewish decalogue. "The last shall be first." This second decalogue is superior to the first, but even here the treasure is contained in an earthen vessel. We cannot pronounce it perfect.

呂新吾 ideal good man.

天地生萬物　惟人最爲貴　人中有好人　更出人中類
好人先忠信　好人重孝弟　好人知廉恥　好人守禮義
好人不縱酒　好人不戀妓　好人不賭錢　好人不尚氣
好人不仗富　好人不倚勢　好人不欠糧　好人不侵地
好人不教唆　好人不妒忌　好人不說謊　好人不諱疾
好人沒閒言　好人不謗議　好人沒歹朋　好人沒浪會
好人不村野　好人不狂悖　好人不懶惰　好人不妄費
好人不輕浮　好人不華麗　好人不邋遢　好人不乖戾
好人不强梁　好人不暗昧　好人救患難　好人施恩惠
好人行方便　好人無詭計　好人必小心　好人不小器
好人行好事　好人懷好意　好人讀好書　好人入好隊
惡人罵好人　好人不答對　惡人打好人　好人只躲避
不論大小人　好人不得罪　不論大小事　好人合天理
富人做好人　陰功及後世　貴人做好人　鄉黨不咒詈
貧人做好人　自然衣食繼　賤人做好人　終不壞名譽
少年做好人　德望等前輩　老年做好人　福壽增萬倍
弱漢做好人　强人自羞愧　惡人做好人　消盡平生穢
好人鄉邦寶　好人家國瑞　好人動鬼神　好人感天地
好人生好人　傳與兒孫繼　但願好人多　代天扶元氣
吁嗟乎百年一去永不還　何做惡人留惡證

But, as in other religions, we find more in general teaching than in formulated commandment—the above is an excellent example. I here give an idea of its meaning:—Man is the most precious of all creation. Some men are good and they may be readily distinguished. A good man is faithful and sincere, filial and fraternal, he has a keen sense of purity or shame; he observes laws and ceremonies, he is not captive to intemperance or impurity. He does not gamble, he does not lose his temper, neither does he trust in riches or power to oppress. The good man does not neglect to pay taxes, he does not encroach upon his neighbor's land. He is neither envious or jealous of others' prosperity; he will not lie or talk vain or idle words. He is not slanderous or censorious. He has no evil companions, and will not join any club of dissipation. The good man is not wild, unruly, lawless, or violent; he is not idle; he has but one wife. A good man is not vain, frivolous, gay or foppish. He is not untidy or indecent. He is not crafty,

or obscene, or rough. He helps those in trouble, shows kindness, abounds in acts of love. He is neither cunning, deceptive, mean, little-hearted, or narrow-minded. A good man enters good company, reads good books, entertains good thoughts, does good deeds. If the wicked revile, the good man does not retort. If the wicked strike the good man avoids the strike. No matter whether important or unimportant people, a good man will not offend them. In all affairs, great or small, the good man is in harmony with Heaven's truth. If a good man be wealthy, he will prepare for the next world. If a good man become famous, he will not despise his less fortunate neighbors. If poor, he takes his lowly fare and clothing without murmuring. If not famous or honorable, yet he preserve a good name. If young, he virtuously reveres his seniors. If aged, he enjoys his many years with increasing happiness. If a good man be weak he will, before strong men, feel ashamed. If a good man has a wicked nature he will ultimately exhaust and destroy the evil nature. A good man is his neighbor's treasure and his country's jewel. His conduct moves gods and demons, and influences heaven and earth. A good man produces good men, and bequeaths a virtuous posterity. May the number of good men increase and fulfil Heaven's will. Alas! alas! a century quickly goes, and never returns! Why then act the evil man, and leave behind nought but an evil epitaph? This, like most good sermons, concludes with an earnest personal application.

The following elegant composition on "a righteous spirit" is worthy of a high position in any system of morals.

孚佑帝君勸義文

世人稱孝曰孝心 稱忠曰忠心 稱義則曰義氣 夫義不言心而言氣何也 蓋義者有一往堅貞不拔之氣 天地賦之於人 審能行焉 則富貴不能奪 貧賤不能移 刀鋸刑罰不能動 金玉貨利不能搖 海枯石爛不能變 可以塞乾坤 可以光日月 大而成聖爲神 小而完名全節 莫非此義此氣爲之 是義氣乃天地間之正氣也 然吾見世人亡失者多矣 顧家不顧國 爲臣之義亡 顧妾不顧妻 爲夫之義亡 顧財產不顧手足 爲兄弟之義亡 顧勢利不顧肝腸 爲朋爲友之義亡 於是天地間之正氣日消 邪氣日長 猶之人身元氣衰 百邪俱入 不死則病 眞可哀已 吾願世人 理會義氣兩字 譬如人有氣則生 無氣則死 人而無義 雖生猶死也 必須食人之祿忠其事 受人之託盡其心 記人之恩 勿使仇報 懷人之惠 勿使怨酬 藉人之培植扶持 勿使根本或忘 是曰義人 一飯之德必酬 一飲之惠必報 一言相諾 始終不渝 一身相許 患難不避 胸中熱心 頸上熱血 思報有恩 是曰義士 幼喪怙恃 賴人撫養 及其成立 事若親生 生養盡禮 死葬盡哀 是曰義子 一富一貧 念篤交情 一貴一賤 交情不厭 乘車戴笠 相逢欲泣 驅馬步行 相見淚傾 是曰義友 或屬葭莩 或係瓜葛

我有餘 彼不足 周之給之 彼有求 我必諾 許之與之 無嫌心 無厭意 是曰義親 衣食於人恩同父母 倚靠於人分若君臣 勿以勢力衰而心變 勿以門祚薄而他圖 無榮無枯 竭心竭力 是曰義僕 凡此等人 觀其五倫 五倫必備 觀其百行 百行必全 是得天地之正氣而不失一身之元氣者也 何難成聖爲神也哉 然吾所言者人也 殊不知物亦有之 犬之濕草也 馬之垂韁也 牛之拒虎也 猿之攀輿也 獸也 何其知義也 雀之投印也 鴿之傳書也 鴨之啣衣也 雁之寄信也 禽也 何其知義也 龜之援溺也 鼈之救病也 蟻之護屍也 蠅之抱筆也 昆蟲也 何其知義也 紫荊花也 連理枝也 漠北青青塚也 草木也 何其知義也 嗚呼 由此觀之 天地間何物而無義哉 故曰義氣者 天地之正氣也 當思禽獸昆蟲草木 尙且有義 而況於人乎 人而無義 曾禽獸昆蟲草木之不若矣 吾實爲世人恥 深爲世人勸耳

The filial are called filial-hearted, the loyal, loyal-hearted, the righteous, righteous spirit. Why say righteous spirit instead of heart? Because the righteous have a firm, pure, immovable spirit, the gift of heaven and earth to man. Possessing this, riches or honor cannot rob a man of it, poverty or distress are unable to remove it, perils of sword or saw do not shake it, gold, jems, goods or money cannot disturb it. The ocean may dry up, and rocks may decay, but the righteous spirit is incorruptible. Its fulness fills up the space between heaven and earth, its brilliance adds light to the sun, and lustre to the moon; where it abounds it completes the character of sages or angels, where its influence is less, it developes human character, such perfection is unattainable without the righteous spirit, for this is the great connecting influence either in heaven or on earth. But I notice that many men of this world lose it. The statesman who regards his family to the neglect of the empire has lost his righteousness. The husband who cares for his concubine, and disregards his wife has lost it. The brother who regards wealth before the brotherhood has lost it. The friend mislead by considerations of personal interest loses it. Thus it is that the correcting spirit of righteousness daily declines; and the depraving temperament daily grows. So the whole world is as a man with injured health, upon whom many diseases prey, and if he does not die yet he is always very sick. All good people will lament this, I wish that all men would reflect upon these two words, 'Righteous spirit.' If a man has breath he is alive, if he has not breath he is dead; if a man has not righteousness, although alive, he is as dead.* If we take salary from another, we should be faithful, with our whole heart doing service.

* This is a beautiful antithesis to the Saviour's words "He that believes on me, though he be dead, yet shall he live." John xi. 25.

Think upon the kindnesses received from others, then you will not wish to avenge injuries wrought against your enemies.* A righteous spirit that depends upon others for help will not forget the source from whence kindness proceeds, and will take care that even a meal of rice or drink of water are not received without remembrance of the kind act. If he who was an orphan, and has been nurtured to manhood by another, has a righteous spirit, he will serve his benefactor as a filial son would serve his father. If amongst friends, one becomes rich or famous, while the other remains poor, or unknown; if one rides in his carriage, while the other wears a rain hat, if one is mounted on horse, and the other trudges along on foot, the rich and favoured, if righteous, will not despise his poorer friends, but will cherish a true feeling to be manifested at meeting. So in all the relations or connexions in life, he who faithfully observes such duties, may be called perfect and complete in righteousness, for he has obtained the correcting spirit and influence that moves in heaven and on earth, and has not lost his original (moral) health. Living in this world, he perfects his name and completes his vocation; when he departs, what difficulty is there to prevent him attaining to the holy and spiritual? But I have been referring to *men*, and yet even all creatures possess this spirit. A dog, to save the life of his master, who, through intoxication, had fallen asleep and was unconscious and helpless near burning grass—made several journeys to the brook and with his shaggy coat dripping with water kept a wet and cool barrier between the fire and his master, saving his life, but itself perishing through exhaustion. Or of the horse, or ox, or monkey who shewed the same faithful spirit. Here follows a number of legends with the same moral, shewing that birds, reptiles, or even insects did not forget to acknowledge favors received from man, and the closing sentence is the query—How is it that *man* can be destitute of this quality, when even the poorer relations of creation possess it? I need not remind my readers of Isaiah's analogy which is very similar. The author must at least be credited with an honest attempt to reduce his theory of righteousness to well doing in the common duties of our daily life. And if this be not righteousness, I should like to know what it is. He has however failed, where all teachers fail who have not the power of a 'Thus saith the Lord' which exalts morals into *duty*.

The following ode on "Be at peace with thy lot," with its defects and excellencies, is a fair specimen of Chinese illogical moral teaching:—

* The best reason I know to ensure the Christian treatment of enemies.

陳眉公安分歌

一生都是命安排求甚麼　今日不知明日事愁甚麼
不禮爹娘禮世尊敬甚麼　兄弟姊妹皆同氣爭甚麼
兒孫自有兒孫福憂甚麼　奴婢也是父母生凌甚麼
當官若不行方便做甚麼　治家勤儉勝求人奢甚麼
公門裏面好修行凶甚麼　刁筆殺人終自殺刁甚麼
舉頭三尺有神明欺甚麼　文章自古無憑據誇甚麼
榮華富貴眼前花傲甚麼　他家富貴前生定妬甚麼
前世不修今受苦怨甚麼　豈有人無得運時急甚麼
人世難逢開口笑苦甚麼　補破遮寒暖卽休擺甚麼
縱過三寸成何物饑甚麼　得便宜處失便宜貪甚麼
死後一錢將不去慳甚麼　前人田地後人收佔甚麼
聰明反被聰明誤巧甚麼　虛言折盡平生福謊甚麼
是非到底有分明辨甚麼　暗裏催君骨體枯淫甚麼
賭博之人沒下梢耍甚麼　人爭閒氣一場空惱甚麼
惡人自有惡人磨憎甚麼　冤冤相報幾時休結甚麼
人生何處不相逢狠甚麼　世事如同一局棋算甚麼
誰人保得常無事諂甚麼　穴在人心不在山謀甚麼
欺人是禍饒人福卜甚麼　一旦無常萬事休忙甚麼

The whole of life has been peacefully arranged, why seek to alter? To-day you are ignorant of to-morrow's events, why be anxious? If you neglect your parents to worship Buddha, why worship? Brothers and sisters are all of one spirit, why quarrel? Your children bring their own bliss, why trouble yourself? Your servants are some body's children, why illtreat them? If you write with malicious pen to destroy others, you will destroy yourself, why provoke it?

But I have translated enough to show the quality, so I leave this for another which professes to answer the important question How to be contented? Show compassion to others even less fortunate. Think upon the sick, the hungry, and the suffering, and then think upon yourself, healthy, fed, and free from suffering. Moreover all things in this world are imperfect. The sun after its ascent to meridian begins to descend. The moon when full begins to wane. The hills will fall, and the streams become thirsty. Be you content.

China has had it Temperance reformers, as may be seen by the following upon the evils of wine drinking by 孫潔齋. "Wine confounds the character, scarcely any man who drinks immoderately can possess self-control. Those whose dispositions naturally are stern, overbearing, or tyrannical, are helped to develop such evils by wine, and so with rapidity are made angry and mad. How great is the injury caused! For this reason several exhortations have been written. Wine may be used to assist joy, but be not sunk to excess in it,

Wine may be used for religious oblations, but not to violate propriety. by becoming drunk with it. A little may nourish, but a large quantity destroys. Man when drunk will do that which, when sober he would not *dare* to do: he will do anything!" "Through wine the scholar loses his good name, the magistrate his office, the merchant his trade, and the artizan his work. Person, property, friends, family, and life, all are injured. What difference is there between it and a venomous serpent?" "Hence the first of the Buddhists prohibitions is "abstain from wine." Wine is a cruel axe that cuts down the character. Is it good or evil to give to, or press upon a man, as a kindness, that which may injure him?" "Some may escape the evil, but nine out of every ten are destroyed. Wine may be of excellent flavor, but it is a mad man's medicine. Wine is the source of disorder, it bequeaths hosts of hideous things; it spoils longevity and hands down vicious habits."

We now give the author's THIRTY-TWO EVILS OF WINE DRINKING. I. It robs the heart of its purity. II. It exhausts money and property. III. Door of much sickness and disease. IV. Root of brawls and quarrels. V. It makes men naked and barefooted as oxen or horses, but (unlike cattle). VI. Reeling and dancing, idling and cursing, they are detested by all men. VII. Through it men never obtain what they should. VIII. What they obtain they lose. IX. It causes men to waste deeds and exhaust speech; when they awake it is only to repent. X. It causes the loss of much, and an awakening only to shame and confusion. XI. It destroys physical force. XII. It spoils countenance and complexion. XIII. Heart and mind are led astray. XIV. Wisdom and knowledge are beclouded. XV. It destroys the capacity to honor parents. XVI. Through it men cannot reverence the gods. XVII, nor obey the words of good men; XVIII, nor laws of the empire. XIX. It makes friendships with cruel and wicked men. XX. It causes a separation from the virtuous and good. XXI. It makes men shameless. XXII. It easily excites to ferocious anger. XXIII. It destroys the power to control the passions. XXIV. It gives men over to evil without limit. XXV. It causes them to resist the devout. XXVI. Produces a heart without fear. XXVII. Turns day into night. XXVIII. Makes infamous in crime and teaches iniquity. XXIX. Rejects virtuous laws. XXX. Drives men far from the true and happy end of life (Nirvana). XXXI. Sows the seeds of insanity and madness. XXXII. Corrupts the body, destroys the life, and causes men to fall into the wicked way. One name for wine is Fountain of Misery 禍泉. It is said that the Emperor Yuan Tsung 元宗 A.D. 713 refused to drink wine, because of its evil influence, and, it is remarked "if the son of heaven was willing to abstain, what must be the disposition of any man, who

will not follow such an example!" According to the Chinese theory of the Divine right of Rulers this would be a powerful argument.

MONEY.

How great is the influence of the love of money over man. Because of this love, bone and flesh relatives are embittered by ill-feeling, officials sacrifice their good name, and individuals their purity. Toiling merchants and travelling traders perish for it, and hucksters quarrel over it. It quickly comes and quickly goes. It is suddenly amassed and suddenly scattered, and so poverty and wealth are rapidly interchanged. But few are made happy by it, yet many are rendered wretched. The word for money, 錢, has at its side two spears, which implies the meaning that money may kill. This reminds us of the well-known sentence which terms the love of money the root of all evil, and also adds, "which some coveting after, wander away from the faith, and *pierce* themselves through with many sorrows." I need scarcely add that the Chinese anagram is a pretty comment on Paul's words just quoted (1 Tim. vi. 10).

DO NOT LAY UP WEALTH.

If you say you accumulate for your descendants, you know not but that fire may destroy and thieves steal, or what use your children may make of it, for through it they may be wickedly profligate. He who loves his children should bequeath to them a legacy of virtue, and wealth and happiness will be added to them.

ON SELF CONTROL.

The wise and learned should be as humble as if unwise. He of great fame must possess his merit in true humility. The courageous and mighty should act with modesty. The wealthy should be humble. Attempt not to outrival your wealthy or famous neighbors. Strive not against the arrogant, nor argue with the passionate. Wealth and fame are but a storehouse of envy, and might and ability an occasion for calamity.

BE CAUTIOUS.

The simple fish sees the bait but not the hook; the tiger sees the sheep but not the trap; the monkey beholds the wine but not the hunter. Consider your own body and soul. Where will they be hereafter. The uncautious man is like a drunkard, he lives a dreamy life, and dies a dreamy death.

Do not neglect the present life, a thousand ages may be influenced for weal or woe, by your action of the present day. To-day's evil may produce inexhaustible trouble, to-day's good may secure an incorruptible inheritance. Therefore if you do not neglect the duties of the present moment, if you die at night you need not grieve, for yours will be a happy life for future centuries.

THE REASON WHY MEN SUFFER.

If any one asks,—Is not calamity, sorrow, and trouble, unfortunate? I reply, No—they are medicine for the inexperienced. It would be unfortunate if wrong words, thoughts, or acts, should be successful and produce happiness; this result would confirm man in error. To endure chastisement is to increase wisdom by discipline. Lack of self-respect produces shame, lack of self-fear causes trouble. He who is emptied of self, may be filled (with wisdom). The wise are without self-conceit. The greater the merit, the less liability to boast. The more the sin the less probability of repentance. To praise the good is the mark of a good man; to hide one's own sins and boast of virtue is the mark of ordinary men, but to excuse one's own sins and claim reward is the mark of a mean man. Do not cover universal truth to hide personal sins. Show kindly forgiveness to others (who sin), but be strict and act according to righteous principle yourself. If you show the same charity to others that you desire for yourself you will enjoy a good fellowship in humanity. If you are as strict with yourself, as you are with other offenders, your sins will be few.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LITTLE THINGS.

How easy to be careful of great acts of good or evil, and how easy to be careless over the little acts of life. Great deeds of good are not always by us for performance, when they are they require suitable capacity and ability to act; but little acts of good may be daily wrought, and little evils may be avoided.* The performance of these will enlarge the capacity and prepare for great acts, and this is the true law of progress from the small to the great (從小而大).

One verse may be rendered thus:—

One act of right,
Makes one sin the less;
One moved to good,
The world's faults decrease.

and reminds as of another saying, "He which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." Doubtless other passages already quoted will have suggested some of the best sentences in the Scriptures; it would be unnecessary and tedious for me to pause and point them out.

2. That the good to be real must proceed from the heart. It is often thought that such teaching is only found in Christian writings, but this is incorrect, for it may be commonly found in the religious tracts of the Chinese; and this is another confirmation of my previous statement, that this literature is educational and introductory to a fuller knowledge of truth. One says. "If you had the opportunity

* "The trivial round, the common task,
Will furnish all we need to ask."

to sin and did not sin that is good, if you might have done good and did it not, that is sin: this abstaining or acting is *in the heart.*" The *spirit* of *virtue* is compared to the tree root which lives on; virtuous *actions*, to the leaves, flowers, and fruit which decay. The true man's saying—"My Bible consists of three volumes, and six words. Vol. I. Patience, endurance. Vol. II. Love, compassion. Vol. III. Duty, ought. This is not in my bookcase but on the tablet of my soul. If you control your thoughts, your actions will be good. If you lose control of these, which are but fractions of your better self, all your actions will be wrong. ("As a man thinketh in his heart so is he"). "Good must be in spirit and principle, action is but the outcome."

Another, "Who is a great man? He of an humble heart." Repentance is said to be "1. A *heart* of shame for the past. 2. A *heart* of fear for the future. 3. And yet a *heart* of joy when all sin is changed."

3. That the good *per se* is precious, I ought to say, that as elsewhere, so in China, this view is not popular, either with authors or distributors of religious books: for many pages are filled with records of immediate rewards given to the virtuous. Practically neither Christians or heathens believe in virtue without happiness. A large portion of religious sermons and literature unfailingly connect some command with some promise, or certain duties with certain rewards. So in many recorded instances of repentance and conversion, fears and hopes concerning the hell or heaven of the future have proved a very strong motive. In China where belief concerning the future life is less distinct and pronounced, the similar motive points to happiness to be obtained, and calamity to be avoided in the present life.

Still the best writers in China have protested against this theory. It is said "There is a difference in the methods of viewing virtue. There is the view which regards virtue for its intrinsic excellence." "The wise and advanced may be led to the practice of virtue because of its own value, "for only virtue is treasure (惟善爲寶). But for ordinary people the view of virtue must be connected with its result and effects. Neither view must be despised. As man's ability can bear to hear, so we must teach, adapting our methods of instruction to their capacity. Hence the necessity for popular books with records of rewards.*

This tolerant, wise and liberal view, I reckon superior to the hard, intolerant, and unelastic opinions of intuitional or utilitarian writers in the West. But to return to Chinese writers. Selfish worship, and selfish prayers are said to be wrong, for, it is added, "Heaven works for the good of all mankind, and not for a selfish heart."

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* See 同善錄.

The Chinese opinion of religious literature. "What is higher than Heaven? Books record Heaven's will. What is greater than truth! Books fully reveal its important principles." "They are the storehouse of righteousness, and the treasury of virtue."

"The rosy clouds, the starry network are the literature of heaven. The elegant hills and streams, the glorious trees and flowers are the literature of earth. So the literature of laws and ceremonies are the literature of man. Man is only complete and in harmony with nature when he masters literature."

The benefits of each literature are said to be intellectual and moral. A quartette of rules begins—"Read good books." Every traveller in China who has distributed religious literature, may have learned how popular such books are, and how highly respected is the work of distribution. I believe that in China this work is more esteemed than even in the West: and I need not say how useful a passport for travel in the interior the package of "good books" has been. The Christian missionary has not created this opinion, he has found it awaiting him; its existence is owing to the fact that good Chinese have been so occupied for ages. It is a valuable aid to the inculcation of Christian literature, and we must give credit to the Chinese work for the help it renders us.

Yet, these books have many defects. They are sadly in need of careful revision. Some of their pages contain the morbid details of vicious habits that are only equalled by the sensational pages of the "Illustrated Police News" in the West. Then their efficacy is overrated. For want of better teaching, the mere circulation of such books is reckoned as a full atonement for personal immorality prior or after.

If carefully sifted and selected, much will be found useful to the missionary. To read them will weaken the besetting sin of bigotry that clings to most religious people. One truth has been confirmed while looking into this subject. The necessary relation between a true theology and a pure morality. A clear and correct knowledge of God, like a "pillar of fire" for the darkness of the night, would have given a completion to the moral progress of a people who were seeking a better life. But the seeking people had not met the seeking God. When the powerful objective teaching of the Bible meets the subjective teaching of the people then the wanderer will find rest. So with the teachings of the Chinese on repentance, retribution and restoration. These are weak, and need the help and strong support of the "One mighty to save," who has come to change prophecies about restoration into the realities of accomplished history.

F. GALPIN.

CONFUCIANISM, IN ITS PRACTICAL BEARINGS UPON THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.

By M. C. P.

WHATEVER may have been the historical or theoretical idea of Confucianism, it has no claim at the present to be classed as a system of religion, under any proper construction of that term. For if religion be said to be right feelings towards God as rightly apprehended, then the system of Confucius fails to come within the range of such a definition. Or if religion be defined as a system of faith and practice, correct or incorrect, based upon the fact of man's eternal existence, and the needs and destiny of his spiritual nature, still Confucianism fails to fulfill the conditions. Whether it at any time contained an idea of the true God and the homage and obedience due to Him, is not a question pertinent to the aims of this paper. For if it ever contained such an idea, it would seem long since to have been eliminated from the practice of the system, and Confucianism in practice, rather than in theory, is that with which we have to do.

Confucianism, as practically existing in China, presents three phases, namely:—1st. A code of ethics. 2nd. A system of education. 3rd. The basis of a political aristocracy.

As a code of ethics, it embraces nearly or quite all the fundamental principles of morality, with a large admixture of superstition; and, hence, much of the moral code of Confucius is identical with the teachings of Christianity. Certain tenets may be said to represent an abnormal or morbid growth upon a foundation of truth; and certain other articles are radically and inherently opposed to Christian doctrine. In a word, Confucianism is Chinese *Pharisaism*, and of it, in a modified degree, one may quote the words of the Saviour, "these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." There is little danger of placing too high an estimate upon the influence of the teachings of the Sage of China in its restraining, conserving, and assimilating effects upon his countrymen during the centuries. Their patience, moderation, love of order, power of self-restraint, regard for the outward forms of morality, and last but not least, the high degree of homogeneity to which, as a nation, they have attained, are doubtless due in large measure to the system which he developed and formulated.

As a mode of education, Confucianism is as distinct and well defined as, for example, the Pestalozzian system so well known in Western lands. Its fundamental idea may, perhaps, be said to be

that the teachings and practices of the ancients can be held to embody all of truth which is worth knowing, and hence that the end of all study is to be sought in the acquaintance with, and imitation of, their precepts and lives, Confucius was an eminent example of the class of teachers not yet extinct even in the western world, who hold that the highest type of humanity is to be sought for, not in the future, but in the past; that degeneration, rather than growth, is the law of nature and history. As a necessary result, memory and imitation are, substantially, the only faculties of the mind which are cultivated in the Chinese educational system, and the educated mind of China is turned, not to the front, but to the rear; not toward the future, but the past; not the acquisition of new truth, but the preservation of the old; not development or increase, but *conservation* is the *ultima thule* of the Chinese educational effort. The talent wrapped carefully in a napkin and hid in the ground is the type of the Confucian idea of mental discipline. Or if exception be taken to this figure as harsh and inappropriate, then put it in this way—how to reproduce an old truth in the height of rhetorical style, precise, orthodox, and unchanged, is the end of effort, rather than the evolution or deduction of new truth. The form of words, rather than the idea, is regarded as of primary importance. To trick out old ideas in new clothing, forms substantially the end of all literary effort or mental research among Chinese scholars; and nothing beyond this is to be expected so long as they retain their present idea of education. It may indeed be doubted, whether even with a modification of their theory, the present generation could rise to anything higher or more aggressive. For, as the Buddhist devotee, after spending half his life in a crouching attitude, found himself permanently unable to stand erect, so it may be that the Chinese mind, stiffened and cramped by a narrow and defective system of education which has obtained through many generations, would find itself unable, even should it come to see those faults and defects, to rise at once to a system broad, true, and calculated to secure symmetrical development.

As constituting the political aristocracy of the country, the disciples of Confucius reach and, in a large measure, guide and control public sentiment; and, in a marked degree, decide the course of official action. To conciliate and disarm the prejudices and dislike of this class, is, or ought to be, an earnest purpose of the missionary body to be kept constantly in view, and to be followed so far as is possible, without disobedience to the commission and instructions under which its members labor. The history of the various riots, disturbances, and uprisings, among the people against missionaries

and Christian Chinese, could it be thoroughly known, would probably show that, in the great majority of cases, these troubles have either been actively fomented, or tacitly encouraged by the literati, that is, the Confucianists. And it would further appear that the suspicious, distrustful attitude of the entire Chinese people towards Christianity, resulting in slow progress and, comparatively, small results, is, in a measure, at least due to the position assumed by the followers of Confucius towards the new faith. While this position is greatly to be deplored, and their course in inciting the lower classes to acts of open violence, is criminal, still it can hardly be wondered at, or create surprise. For the presence of foreigners in China, who have come to point out errors in the belief and practice of the people, is not only a constant irritant to the pride and self-complacency of the literati, but also an ever-present menace to their self-assumed position as leaders and directors of public sentiment, as doctors of the national faith. Attacks upon the prestige or the assumptions of any class, in any community, Oriental or Western, cannot be made without exciting the resentment and opposition of the objects of such an attack, and the present status in China is but the logical and necessary sequence of that invariable law. The weakness of their position, and the unsoundness of their assumptions will, here as elsewhere, not lessen, but, on the contrary, deepen and embitter their dislike and opposition. For human nature, as a rule, frets less over the fact that it is in error, than over the efforts of philanthropic people to convince it of its errror, and to lead it out of wrong into right.

But another phase of the attitude of this political aristocracy in China remains to be noticed. The Confucianist is to a considerable degree, the patron and protector of all forms of faith which have obtained any general currency in China. Thus, while nominally professing contempt of Buddhism and Taoism in their various forms, he is, in point of fact, a liberal contributor to the support of those superstitions, and probably his wives and children are devout adherents. Perhaps he would be willing to *patronize* Christianity, in the same way and to the same extent, could his own personal superiority to it and its claims be conceded. This, it is needless to say, is out of the question. And his self-assumed position of patron of all forms of superstition current here has, as its only practical result, the effect to make him an enemy to the cause of Christ; not less, perhaps, when he sees an attack made upon the open idolatry of Buddhism, than when his own belief is assailed.

Thus has been sketched, in brief, the present position of Confucianism as it exists in China, and the attitude which it assumes

towards Christianity. That its position is impregnable, no one will assert. That it is a strong one not easily to be captured or turned no one will deny. Embodying the highest culture and intellectual attainment to be found in the Empire, and this culture and attainment being the result of centuries of time, during which the system has held unquestioned control and supremacy, shaping the opinions of the masses even down to the pettiest details of common life, controlling all educational efforts, and numbering among its adherents, with hardly a solitary exception, the entire official class, from (and including) the Emperor and princes of the blood, down to the most petty office-holder or expectant office-holder, being indeed the only door to official position or distinction—it would be strange indeed if this system, venerable in its age, and intense in its pride and prejudice, could be easily demolished, or its errors corrected without much patience and judicious, long-continued effort.

The large element of moral truth embodied in the Confucian system, will tend to retard, rather than hasten, for a time at least, the success of Christian efforts. For man is constitutionally prone to be satisfied with half truths, and experience goes to show that it is easier to work upon those who are radically and unqualifiedly in error, than upon those who are half right. The history of missionary effort for the Jews and Mohammedans, long continued and with only the most meager results, is in point, and may be cited as in evidence to the correctness of the foregoing statement. Even among the Mohammedan Chinese, who, it would seem, would feel with a peculiar force the common ground existing between themselves and Christian missionaries, in their knowledge of the God of Abraham, and who would, in consequence, be peculiarly open to the reception of the Gospel, the total number of converts could almost be counted on one's fingers.

Again, the Confucianist has, constitutionally, an intense veneration for the old, and a correspondent, or rather consequent, light esteem for any thing *new*. If you will pardon the figure, he looks at truth, as he does at porcelain, and would put a priceless value upon some dingy, cracked, battered, and worn out old fragment, if it only bore the stamp of "Ta Ming," while he considers a few cash to be a liberal equivalent for a perfect specimen fresh from the pottery. This habit of mind, by which he values truth in direct ratio to its age, is the natural result of the peculiar character of his education, which has already been described, and this habit of mind will serve to interfere, seriously, with any eagerness which we might expect him to manifest for the Gospel. For while, strictly speaking, no truth is

new, but eternal rather, still it is new in its relation to him, and, in consequence, labors under a grave disadvantage in its power upon him.

Still further, there are certain forms of idolatry which constitute an integral part of the Confucian system, and with which Christianity must inevitably come into square conflict. Most prominent of these are the worship of ancestors, and the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. And these are, perhaps, of all forms of superstition, the ones most deeply rooted in the Chinese mind, whether Confucian, Taoist, or Buddhist, and over which the struggle is likely to be most intense and protracted. Of course, the teacher of Christian truth is not at liberty to abate aught in his demands against these practices, and on the other hand, they are not likely to be readily surrendered. They may fitly be described as constituting the citadel of heathenism in China. For intelligent Chinese, who ridicule and denounce other idolatrous forms, and even excuse or explain away the worship of Confucius, still stoutly defend not merely the propriety, but even the absolute duty of offering these sacrifices, and assert that upon these points Christianity must yield if it expects to secure any considerable following from among the educated classes. Both of these errors may be said to have a base of truth—the one being a morbid development of the Christian duty of filial piety; the other a vicious, yet natural, substitution of worship towards the visible source of supply of human needs, instead of the worship of the invisible, all-provident Creator of that visible source. Here, if the writer mistakes not, is to be fought the last battle between truth and error in China, a battle, the issue of which, since that issue cannot be doubted, will be the general and hearty acceptance of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. Not that the battle will be fought for good and all at any single point of space; but that this is the most serious and obstinate barrier to the progress of this cause, and when it yields, whether in any given individual, or in any circle of individuals other errors of Confucianism are likely to be involved in its fall, and swept away with it.

If the statements thus far made are to be accepted as being in the main, correct, it would certainly seem that by far the most serious barrier to the spread of Christianity in China is to be found in the Confucian system, and that the Christian teacher has no light or easy task before him to make even appreciable headway against it. But there are, on the other hand certain elements in Confucianism as practically existent, which seem to promise that if progress be slow and painful to a degree it will, on the other hand, be permanent and most blessed in its influences. It would be but a one-sided picture

which failed to bring out these elements of promise in the situation, or which neglected to show how the power of the good which is to be found in the teachings of the Chinese sage promise to be, when stripped of their superabundant errors, valuable auxiliaries to the cause of Christ, and to true, Christian, manly growth. Many of the very qualities of the Chinese mind—qualities developed by their peculiar education and belief, and which serve for the time to hinder the progress of Christian effort—will serve as hindrances for a time only, and then come to be valuable aids. And thus that which makes the work harder now, and small in result, will lighten it then, and largely increase the value of its successes.

The Chinese educational system, vicious and inefficient as it is, will doubtless come eventually to exercise a powerful influence for, as it now does against, Christianity. Its scope and methods, as has been stated earlier in this paper, are narrow and defective in the extreme, and one of the earliest results of the spread of truth will probably be to broaden and correct the system. This may not come as the result of direct effort, but will hardly fail to be one of the incidental results of the progress of Christianity in China. With the correction of the system, and the enlargement of its scope, a gradual obliteration of the prejudices which it, perhaps more than any other power in China, has fostered against Christianity, will follow. And the ambition for literary distinction, the high respect in which intellectual power is held, the great estimate, amounting to veneration, put upon books, and all other appliances of study, all these forces in the Chinese mind, and which have been planted and developed there by Confucianism, will combine to establish the faith in Christ firmly and intelligently in this land. No man, perhaps, is better qualified to become a sturdy, earnest follower of Christ than the Confucianist of China, when once, his sins having been given up and his prejudices removed, he is brought to a faithful acceptance of it. No man is likely to excell him in veneration for the Bible and its teachings, when once he acknowledges the fact that it is the Book of books, older far, in part at least, than the collections made by his Master from the ancients, and written not in human wisdom but in the inspiration of divinity.

Nor should it be forgotten that, as one of the results of the Confucian system, a certain kind of common school education has been somewhat generally diffused throughout the Empire. In consequence of this a considerable percentage of the common people are able to read, and hence have a better basis of information and intelligence, on which to rear the superstructure of Christianity than

is ordinarily found in heathen lands. The work of creating a desire for knowledge, a respect for education, as well as the drudgery of teaching individuals to read, a kind of labor which forms no small part of the earlier work of missionary laborers in other lands, is here largely completed, or at least brought to such a state that its completion, may in great measure be relegated to Christian Chinese.

Again, the regard for law and order, the knowledge of, and respect for, the outward forms, at least, of morality, which have been implanted in the Chinese mind largely through the teachings of Confucius will, perhaps not immediately, but eventually come as natural aids rather than hindrances to the progress of Christianity. They will act as barriers to its success until such time as the Confucianist shall be made to see that, aside from these which he holds to be really borrowed from his faith, Christianity has more and better gifts than his Master can offer him. Then he will, not graft Christianity upon Confucianism, but rather displace Confucius in favor of Christ, retaining that morality which is common to both. And hence he will be more of a man in his Christian faith, from its commencement, than the gross and brutal pagan, who must be raised from even a lower depth of degradation than the beast.

On the whole, then, the situation and the prospects for the success of Christian effort in this land are far from discouraging, so far, at least, as Confucianism is concerned. While from its antiquity, its hold upon the best mind of China, and the peculiar impress and character which it has given to that mind, it constitutes to day by far the most serious and stubborn opponent to Christian truth to be found in this land; and there is no promise of immediately great inroads upon it. Still the event will show that it has done much good work among the Chinese, which will in the future be utilized, and serve as a valuable basis for the establishment of the Christian fabric.

Heartily to acknowledge its elements of good, and skillfully to turn their forces upon the evil system in which they are found, while with discretion, patience, and unwavering faith he strives to accomplish the destruction of this hoary mountain of error—this is the labor and the duty of the Christian teacher in China.

SHALL WE ASSIST THE CHINESE IN ACQUIRING A KNOWLEDGE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE?

By Rev. B. C. Henry.

A Paper read before the Canton Missionary Conference, Dec. 8th, 1880.

NO one can deny the importance of this inquiry, nor can it be answered decidedly in the affirmative or the negative without careful consideration of its manifold bearings. It is not a new question which has arisen in late years, but one which is as old as the missionary enterprise in China, and one which has come again and again in the course of missionary work for the Chinese; never in exactly the same bearing, it is true, but always modified more or less by the state of popular feeling or the demands of the time.

It would be both interesting and instructive, as an introduction to our present inquiry, to give a sketch of the history of English teaching to the Chinese from its beginning until now; but the want of accurate knowledge and inability to get at the proper materials for such a sketch must be my excuse for not attempting it here.

In the earlier days of mission work, every means that would bring the missionary into closer relationship with the people or afford more favorable opportunity of communicating Christian truth had to be made use of, and the teaching of English was made the pretext, as is done in California and other places to-day, for inculcating higher teaching—the entering wedge to prepare the way for the introduction of the Gospel; and the Chinese, for purposes of trade and other reasons, were glad to avail themselves of the offers of the missionary. But now the circumstances are changed. The missionary needs no such adjunct to the more legitimate methods of work. Our work is firmly established; we have every facility. Audiences await us in our chapels. Pupils crowd to our schools where English is not taught. New openings for work are constantly presenting themselves. We cannot begin to improve to the utmost the opportunities now afforded; so that there is not the slightest necessity for holding out the teaching of English as a bait to secure favor with the people or increase our opportunities for work. And if the question were—Do we need to teach English as an aid to us in our proper work as missionaries? a decided negative would be given without the slightest hesitation.

The importance of the question from a Chinese point of view has also changed very materially. In the beginning the advantage of a knowledge of English was understood and appreciated by very few.

The many considered the time spent in acquiring the foreigner's speech as wasted, and regarded such accomplishments with contempt. A comparatively few years, however, sufficed to show the Chinese mercantile community at least, especially those who had dealings with foreigners, the great advantage of such acquirements; and a fresh stimulus was thus given to the study of English. As the demand for English-speaking Chinese increased, their services commanded higher remuneration, and many an enterprising youth found that a knowledge of the despised foreigner's language was the golden key that unlocked the gate and sent him speeding on his way to fortune. This demand filled and still fills the government schools of Hongkong with pupils. It made and still makes the teaching of English in Canton a comparatively remunerative employment. The Chinese have thus advanced from the point of being willing to attend a free mission school and receive a modicum of Christian truth for the benefit of instruction in English, until they are now willing to pay, and in many cases to pay well, for their instruction. They are so far, however, only moved by mercenary considerations. They regard it purely in a business light, and are willing to pay a moderate sum for what will bring them greater profit in the end. There is among this class, no desire for the knowledge of the language for its own sake or for any advantage to be gained from a literary point of view. Such I take it has been in the main, the relation of the Chinese to the study of English in the past. Their feelings in regard to it have been, for the most part, purely mercenary. It has been a question of dollars and cents. The time and money spent in acquiring English has been so much capital invested from which they expected to derive a great profit in their business. Of course there have been exceptions to this rule; but, in the main, I conceive that this has been the case. And if this were still the case, and it were likely to continue so in the future then the question, as far as we are concerned, would be easily settled. It is not our place as missionaries to take the superintendence of commercial schools or identify ourselves with a course of work that is prompted and sustained by purely mercenary considerations. If the question were merely—Shall we assist the Chinese in acquiring a knowledge of English so that they may be better fitted to carry on business with foreigners? a simple and decided *no* would soon settle it.

But the signs of the times, as read by the most casual observer show it to be a much broader question than the foregoing views of it suggest. It is evident to many that there is now a demand on the part of the Chinese for a knowledge of English apart from any commercial considerations; not merely the knowledge of how to read and

write, but for the advantage it gives them in the search after truth. This demand, as I view it, has two main sides, which for convenience may be termed the *political* side and the *scientific* side. The *political* side has reference to the Government and to servants, both in relation to their own people and to other nations. The establishment of legations in foreign courts and consulates in many cities was a great step in advance, as all will admit—an utter departure from the custom of ages. If these are kept up, as they no doubt will be, a separate service will probably be established and officers properly trained and qualified will be appointed to fill the posts. Among the requirements for such a service, a knowledge of English will doubtless hold an important place; not a superficial or mechanical knowledge merely, but such as will prepare its possessor for going more or less fully, as may be desirable, into the history, laws and general literature of out-side nations. This aspect of the question is very important, in the present state of things, and will become more so as the relations between China and her neighbors become closer and more settled.

But more important still is the *scientific* side of the question, which presents the English language as the *vehicle* for the introduction of Western sciences, both in their theoretical and practical forms into China. The demands for such knowledge are increasing every day. There are evidences of an awakening spirit of inquiry. In the past there have been isolated individuals who had independence of mind sufficient to lead them to strike off from the beaten tracks and not to despise help from the out-side "barbarians." These individuals are becoming nuclei for still larger companies, who, with the thirst for the knowledge of living facts in place of cast-off theories, will push their investigations into the higher realms of scientific and philosophic research. China's intense conservatism has kept her back long enough. She cannot stand out much longer. She cannot forever resist the waves of progress that beat against her shores. There are movements and indications of advance which all who wish her well must hail with joy. There are disturbing elements at work in this mass of overwrought conservatism. The crust which ages has formed over them is breaking in places, and signs of life and progress begin to manifest themselves, even in this apparently dead and fossilised nation. We believe in a glorious future for China. We believe she will yet again be, as she has been in the past, in the front rank of nations. But there will be a complete revolution of thought and theory before this can take place. Already there are premonitions of such a revolution. It will be accomplished through the spread of truth—religious and scientific. The two must go

together to make the change complete. But, as it has been elsewhere, so it will no doubt be here, that secular and scientific truth will appeal more directly and powerfully to the minds of the majority of the people than will religious truth. The day of wider knowledge seems to be dawning for this people. Many intelligent and observant men among them have seen the benefits that are bestowed by foreign medical skill, mechanical skill and the various methods of applied science. They see that their people are groping in the dark, wasting time, energy and precious material because of their ignorance of many of the most fundamental and practical truths of modern science. Some of those thus awakened have persevered, and, in spite of great difficulties, have gained a knowledge of these truths and theories more or less perfect, and the evident advantage it has been to them has inspired others with the desire to follow their steps; and this feeling will increase as the years roll on, until China, with her millions, is found traveling along the way of progress and improvement in religion, science, and civilization. It is this bearing of the question that should command our most studious attention; and when it comes to us in this shape, it seems to me that the only proper answer we can give is a decided and emphatic *yes*, help them all that we possibly can. To my mind the time seems to have come when we can with perfect propriety, with great advantage to the cause we represent, and with the fair hope of exerting a salutary influence upon the minds of educated Chinese, take steps toward giving them that knowledge of English which seems necessary to any adequate or accurate acquaintance with philosophic and scientific truth as developed in our day. The question is entitled to a fair and favorable consideration, and I think deserves an affirmative answer. The reasons I would give for answering it in the affirmative are as follows:—

1. Because it comes to us now in a different shape from any it has assumed in the past. It is not merely the old question restated, but is in many respects an entirely new question? It includes, to a great extent, the broader and more important question of assisting the Chinese to gain a knowledge of Western science. It brings us into relationship with a class of students who come for reasons which we all can approve. The old class who come to learn from mercenary motives, who acquire English as a part of their stock in trade with which to make money more easily, still come in larger numbers perhaps than ever before; but in addition to them is this other class, better and more hopeful, and destined eventually to become the most numerous; real students, they are prompted not by a mere desire of gain, but seeking after knowledge with something of the same spirit

that characterizes men of intellect in other lands. They are students of political economy, students of natural philosophy, students of the arts of civilization, who have in some degree the real genuine desire for the true and the useful. They present much more hopeful material to work upon than the sordid, grasping mercenary lot that thrive in the treaty ports of China. Closely connected with this, and in some respects identical with it, is the

2. Second reason I would give for answering this question in the affirmative,—that there is evidently a desire, more or less widespread, among intelligent Chinese to obtain this knowledge for its own sake and for the facility it gives in acquiring the treasures of modern and practical truth which form the strength and glory of Christian lands. There are men of progress in China as well as elsewhere, men of independent thought, men of keen observation, who know and appreciate, if they do not publicly acknowledge the Western learning, and at the same time are fully aware of the absurdity and puerility of many of their own theories and methods. The intercourse with foreigners in the past few decades has opened the eyes of those who have been brought into relationship with other peoples, and made them feel that they are far behind the rest of the world in more ways than one. Their national pride in many cases has been aroused and a laudable desire to emulate the best that others have attained has been awakened. These intelligent leaders of thought among the people know that something must be done to bring them up abreast of other nations; and that one of the first things to be done is to put them on an equal footing as to knowledge and general intelligence with other nations. They begin to see that truth, and especially in their case scientific truth, is universal and cosmopolitan; that it is not the peculiar property of any one nation or class of men, but that it belongs to all alike, and that there is no sacrifice of national or personal dignity in acquiring it from whatever source it may most easily be obtained. This is one great step toward the breaking down of the barriers of exclusiveness which have so long enclosed them. Their peculiar ignorance of anything and everything outside of their own borders makes them peculiarly helpless and dependent upon others, now that they begin to feel the need of something better. They have sufficient penetration to see that the English language is a great conservatory of knowledge of all kinds, and with a good understanding of it almost everything that they want is at their command; hence the desire more or less prevalent among them for a knowledge of English. The more the advantage of such a knowledge is known and appreciated, the more wide-spread will become this

desire. With many of them, it is already a foregone conclusion that the cumbrous, stilted and effete methods now in vogue must ere long give way to more approved and practical methods. It is also worthy of note that those who are foremost in advocating a change in this respect are also in favor of a liberal foreign policy and the introduction of the liberal arts and liberal education according to the standard of Western nations. Many foresee that the men of mark and influence in the near future of China will be those who have the advantage of such liberal education; and the feeling of many is expressed in the language of one with whom I was speaking on the subject not long ago who said in his native dialect, 瞎便曉番字番話重好過一名翰林, which means "to have a familiar knowledge of foreign language and literature is better than to be a member of the *Hanlin* College." Such expressions are prophetic of the future. Those who can understand the drift of affairs know what is coming, and many of them hail it with joy and prepare for it accordingly. If we are not mistaken in our view of this side of the question it becomes a matter of considerable moment for us to decide what we shall do in regard to it Shall we put our shoulders to the wheel and help them forward in the line of progress and higher knowledge? or shall we stand aside and let them work it out for themselves? It may be said that it is outside of our province; that this desire for a knowledge of English has not sprung up in connection with our work as missionaries, but is something extraneous. This in a certain sense may be true; but the case stands thus:—They are in need of help in a particular direction, or at least would appreciate it, and we have it in our power to give that help. By giving it, we do not waste our energies on sordid thankless minds, but are dealing with men of intelligence and progressive ideas, men who will hold the balance of power in the future and may be able to recompense us an hundred-fold for our labor and trouble for them. We hold that all truth is one and is ever consistent with itself; that there is no real antagonism between religious truth and scientific truth, although many have tried hard to make it appear otherwise. We know the baleful consequences which have in our own lands followed the violent separation of these two great divisions of truth, and it were a pity that such a state of things should obtain here without our making any effort to counteract it. But if we do not lend our influence to this movement which is now stirring and is sure to go on, shall we not give reason for the doubt that we hear so often expressed—that Christianity is, to some extent at least, antagonistic to science? Since we have reason to believe that there is this commendable desire for a knowledge of our language for purposes which

we cannot but rejoice in, should we not take the matter into serious consideration and try to inaugurate some plan by which we can assist them and through this means exert an influence for good upon the progressive mind of China?

3. Another strong reason as it appears to me, in favor of our doing something now to help them, is, that if we do not undertake it, the Chinese themselves will make the move and establish institutions from which missionaries and Christian influences of every kind will be excluded. This is now the case in every school and college under their control, nor can we reasonably find fault with them for their course in the matter. If we believe that the desire for a knowledge of English is increasing, as we have reason to believe; if the advantage of such knowledge is as great as it now appears to be, there can be no reasonable doubt that they will, ere long, take steps to inaugurate some efficient measures for the teaching of that language. It is not that they have any special love for English-speaking people, or see any special beauty in the language itself, but because it is necessary in order to acquire that knowledge of science and the practical arts which is the great *desideratum* with them now. The scientific works already translated into Chinese do not fully meet the demand. They are excellent as far as they go; but the translators labor under a great disadvantage for want of a proper scientific vocabulary. And even if a list of terms were definitely settled by common consultation, many of them would be unintelligible to the ordinary student. Besides all this, modern science in its full breadth cannot well be compressed into the compass of a few text-books. It is very encouraging to see that medical works, scientific works, works on mechanics, on political economy and international law, meet with such a ready sale among the people. These, however, give only a taste, and the taste which inquiring minds get from these few books only arouses the desire to learn more. This desire for a fuller knowledge and more perfect training will lead to the invention of means to satisfy it. But the Chinese move slowly, and they have not yet seen their way clear to open on any large scale schools for such purposes. The Peking University and its branches are not adequate to the purpose. The sending of young men to other countries to be trained is a step that looks to something more extensive in the future; but as yet there is no adequate provision made. They will however surely come to it. As surely as scientific truth exists, it will find its way among the educated people of China, and the day will come when colleges and universities where a liberal education, as it is understood in our own lands, is given, will be established throughout the Empire. We seem

to me to have before us a great opportunity, and if we show but a little of the wisdom of the serpent, we can forestall the Chinese and establish in advance institutions worthy of patronage where English and the liberal arts are taught under Christian auspices. We claim to be ourselves persons of liberal education. We should represent Christianity in its most cultivated form. We should be able to establish institutions possessing talent and learning enough to command the respect and homage of our heathen neighbors. Our position as Christian teachers presupposes our proper equipment and qualification for such a work of education. Such being the case we are in the best position to take advantage of the current of a desire more or less prevalent, and to furnish those who are anxious for the knowledge with the means of acquiring it. We are ourselves or should be in full sympathy with true science and all its latest discoveries and verified theories. We believe in the inestimable advantage which the knowledge of these gives to a people. We find here a people in need of such knowledge, and many of them anxious to acquire it. We take advantage of the circumstances and provide them with the means of acquiring it. We are led to do this with greater alacrity, because if we delay, others will forestall us and exclude us from the field. This might not be any great calamity were it not for the fact that those who will do the work which we might have done will exclude all Christian influences and make the work practically atheistic and of course anti-Christian. This we must all feel would be a great calamity and one which we should do our utmost to avert. We cannot but perceive the paramount importance of this consideration that, when this desire for and striving after scientific knowledge takes definite shape and permanent institutions are established, Christianity should not be excluded. And we can safely say that unless they are established by missionaries or through missionary influences they will inevitably become anti-Christian. With the means apparently within our reach of influencing the minds of those who, in some respects, form the best portion of the people, should we not consider long before we decline to use them? Shall we lightly forego the grand opportunity of giving Christian tone to the higher education of the Chinese; of reaching the minds of those who in their first inquiry will be far more open to conviction than they will be afterwards when they have settled theories of their own. No greater safeguard could be thrown around them than that afforded by the plan of teaching them scientific truth from a Christian standpoint, of letting them know from the beginning that *science* and *Christianity* are absolutely consistent and help to interpret each other. If they learn from an anti-Christian standpoint it will take ages to undo the mischief and set them right

Such work may not be purely missionary work in the common acceptation of the term, but, in its real bearing and results, it is one of the highest forms of mission work, and would doubtless be fruitful of untold good in the future history of this people. It does not meet the point to argue that where Christian truth is diffused and accepted liberal education and the arts of civilization will follow as a natural and in some degree a necessary consequence. This may, and no doubt will, be the case usually where it is accepted; but how long will it be before the Gospel is accepted by the mass of this people? It may be centuries for any indication that we can show to the contrary now. In the meantime science is advancing with rapid strides. It is as aggressive as Christianity and is more sure to find a ready acceptance. Its advocates and propagators are in many cases men who are utterly indifferent, or openly opposed, to Christianity, and those who are waiting for it, and will be the first to accept it, are not from our Christian people except in a few instances. They have not and could not be expected to have any proper conception of the true relations of religion and science, and will therefore have no protection against the insidious teaching of skepticism as it is now so widely taught in connection with science. The probability is that science will make much more rapid progress among the educated than the Gospel. Shall we then allow ourselves to be outdone and the ground occupied in advance by the most dangerous enemies of our cause, and the people provided with enterly unsanctified or skeptical teaching, when we might, if proper measures were adopted, take the lead ourselves and by a liberal policy reach a vantage-ground from which we could exert a greater influence over the thinking class of the people than we could otherwise hope to do?

If, then, it is deemed advisable to meet our Chinese friends halfway, and provide them with the means of acquiring the knowledge they desire what plan shall we pursue? How shall we set about the accomplishment of our purpose? It is at this point that the question assumes its most practical bearing; and it is here that the experience of the past should be of the greatest benefit to us. I am not prepared to make any *definite* proposition in regard to the matter, but only give expression to some thoughts that have come up in my mind in connection with it, and state what seems to me, might, with modification, be a proper and feasible plan; and I would say

First—That we should not begin by teaching English in our mission schools. Let them remain as they are—devoted entirely to instruction through the medium of the Chinese language. Our mission schools have one special and prominent object, the teaching

of Christian truth, and the introduction of English would only be a distracting and disturbing element. It would be bad for the scholars, because it would draw away their attention from other and better things. It would be bad for the teachers, because it would, if they are Chinese, involve a long course of previous study before they could be fitted to assume such duties, or if they are foreigners, it would consume precious time and strength with but little compensation. There can no doubt be great improvements made both in the modes of teaching and the books taught in our mission schools, but not by the introduction of English. We hope for greater efficiency when the series of school books prepared at the suggestion of the General Missionary Conference held in Shanghai in 1877, are ready for use and are generally adopted. The class of pupils, too, in many of our schools would not be promising material on which to work. However desirable it may be to assist the Chinese in learning English I think, for the present at least, it should not be taught in our mission schools.

Second—I do not think that we who are now engaged in active missionary work should take it up in connection with our other duties. If this were done, I fear that one of three things would be the result. Either the work would be done in such an indifferent way, as not to amount to anything, and thus hinder real efficient work; or if much time were devoted specially to such work, it would be at the neglect of more important and legitimate missionary work; or else the missionary who attempted to carry on both with any degree of efficiency, would break down beneath the weight of a burden heavier than he could bear. But even supposing that any one felt justified in turning aside from work already begun and should devote his whole time to such work, what he could do would be a very small thing in comparison with what ought to be done. To my mind it seems that we who are here already engrossed in the work which our Societies have sent us out to do, and which in point of importance must ever take precedence of all other, should not turn aside to engage in secular teaching of any kind. As it is, our time is now cut up and divided into too many portions. Our work is so varied that we cannot give exclusive attention for any length of time to any one part of our work, even though we have a decided preference for it and special qualification for that particular phase of work; and the addition of another burden would not much improve matters. Besides this if each missionary were to lend a hand in teaching English, if each school were to have it among the branches taught, it might

seem as though a great deal were being done, when in reality a large amount of time and energy would be frittered away and no substantial good accomplished. Such desultory effort would tend rather to defeat the object we should have in view than to accomplish it.

Third—I would not be in favor of any particular mission taking it up alone and incorporating it as a part of its work. This would give it too much of a sectarian look, and would not commend it to the general public whether foreign or Chinese. It must be done in a way to secure general approval if possible; in a way to conciliate any hostile feeling that might be aroused.

Fourth—The most feasible plan that suggests itself to me is for the whole missionary body in Canton, as represented in our Conference, to unite in establishing a central college. Not a theological school, not a school in which religious teaching is given undue prominence, but one after the model of our colleges at home, where the first thing would be the study of English, and afterwards a thorough training in the arts course, with all the books already published in Chinese in the educational line put into the hands of the students to assist them to a better understanding of the English text-books.

1. In the first place, such an institution to be efficient should represent the united strength of all the missions here, and should have their cordial approval, sympathy and support.

2. While religion is not made conspicuous or brought forward in a way to offend or drive pupils away, yet the whole tone and attitude should be thoroughly Christian.

3. There should be a Board of Trustees or Directors composed of representatives of the various missionary societies concerned and other men from the community here or from the home countries, of undoubted Christian character and influence.

4. It should be of a standard high enough to attract the more advanced and intelligent of the Chinese, and the course of study should be such as to fairly entitle a man who had gone through it faithfully to the degree of B.A. in a university at home; but provision should also be made for any who wish to pursue a special course or spend a shorter time.

5. The teachers and professors should be men specially qualified and sent out from home for the work, men of learning and sound Christian character. I fear, if we aim at anything short of this, or something like it, we shall fail of the object desired and lose favor

with the people. It is not impossible, I think, for us to unite and establish some such institution. The old and well-tried motto "in union there is strength" bids us unite in the work. What we would not be able to do as individuals or as separate missions we might accomplish by combined effort. Such an institution, well established and manned with efficient teachers, would without doubt attract many of the inquiring spirits who are in search of the treasures of knowledge hidden as yet from this blinded people. These minds, imbued with the spirit of progress and receiving the truths of nature and philosophy from the lips of Christian teachers, would go forth with greatly enlightened views of men and things. And, although they might not be led to accept religious truth as we hold it, yet they would learn that there is no contradiction between the deepest and most mysterious truths of Christianity and the highest truths of science. They would learn that science and religion should go hand in hand; and that the lands from which they would learn the deep and practical lessons of national life are indebted to both for their enlightenment, freedom and advanced civilization. Such an institution too, would, if properly conducted, become the parent and model of many others in the surrounding cities, and men trained in it would become in turn the teachers of multitudes more. How important then to have the beginning of the movement under the control of Christian men, who would give a Christian tone to the education and literature that is sure to spring up in its wake, and the way be thus prepared for the full reception of Christian truth when the masses of the people shall be shaken out of the mental and spiritual lethargy in which they have been dreaming the ages away!

NOTE.—When the above was written I was not aware of what was being done in other places, notably in Foochow, and am glad that now in addition to other considerations we have the force of an example to impel us forward.—*B. C. H.*

Correspondence.

MY DEAR MR. EDITOR:—

In accordance with your request in the last *Recorder*, you may state that I am engaged in bringing out a music book in *Chinese* notation, and Daniel Quorm in easy *wên-li*.

Yours very truly,

TIMOTHY RICHARD.

TAI-YUEN-FU, *March 7th*, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—

During the week between the first and second Sundays in this year, several missionaries held meetings at Wuchang, and followed the recommendations of the Evangelical Alliance in the choice of subjects for Praise and Prayer. All who attended speak of them as meetings of special grace. The thought occured to more than one, why not have a week of similar meetings amongst the Chinese? It would surely do good to have united gatherings, once at least in the year, in the larger centres of our work. And if in them, why not hold meetings in all our stations? Why not have an Evangelical Alliance in full work in every part of China? Japan can boast of such an Alliance, and doubtless is all the better for it. It may be some missionaries are members of the Evangelical Alliance, and to such, if such there be, I would appeal. I feel sure that a movement started by some one whose age and position would secure the confidence of his fellow missionaries, would not only be heartily responded to, but would also prove of great good to the whole of the Christian Church in China.

JOHN S. FORDHAM.

WUSUEH, 12*th March*, 1881.

EDITORIAL REMARKS.

THE editor wishes to make a candid statement to the friends of the *Recorder*. It is known to all that the *Recorder's* pages are supplied by the voluntary contribution of articles from its friends. The articles received are too few to fill its pages. The Jan.-Feb. No. was short 4 pages for want of matter to fill them. The March-April No. was short 8 pages for the same reason. It has been necessary to print *the whole* of the article on "The State Religion of China"—which was intended to be *divided* and a part appear in each of two successive numbers, in this number to fill up its pages *for want* of articles on hand to print. This statement presents, in the strongest possible way, the facts of the case. If the friends of the *Recorder* wish it to continue to make its bi-monthly appearance, it is necessary that they would interest themselves to prepare articles for publication.

Missionary News.

Births, Marriages & Deaths.

MARRIAGE.

At the Cathedral, Shanghai, on the 14th March, by the Right Rev. Bishop Moule, William Joshua Hunnex to Jeanne Charlotte, fourth daughter of Mon. Antoine Müller, of Geneva, both of the China Inland Mission.

DEATHS.

At New Haven, Conn., U.S.A., Jan. 26th, 1881, Mrs. Sarah Walworth Williams, at 65 years, wife of Prof. S. Wells Williams, of Yale College. She arrived in Canton in October 1848, and finally left China in April, 1875; during which time she resided in Canton ten years, and in Peking twelve years.

At Bangkok, on 8th February, Miss Campbell, of the American Presbyterian Mission. Drowned while bathing.

At Ningpo, on the 8th June, the Rev. Robert Inkerman Exley, of Wênchow, aged 26 years.

Arrivals.—Mrs. and Miss Kerr, of Canton, arrived from San Francisco per *City of Peking*, on 2nd of May last.

Per M. M. Co.'s s.s. *Khiva*, on May 20th, the Rev. J. and Mrs. Ross, of the Scotch Presbyterian Mission, Newchwang.

The Rev. J. L. and Mrs. Whiting and two children returned from the U.S.A., after an absence of two years, per the s.s. *Nagoya Maru*, on the 23rd June. The same steamer brought Rev. M. H. Houston wife and children and Dr. Fishburne.

Departed.—Per s.s. *Genkai Maru*, on May 11th, Rev. and Mrs. D. C. McCoy and four children, of the American Presbyterian Mission, Peking, for U.S.A. Home address:—Clayton, Illinois, U.S.A.

Per P. and O. Co.'s s.s. *Nizam*, for Southampton, on May 20th, the Rev. F. F. Gough and the Misses Gough, of the Church Missionary Society, Ningpo.

On May 3rd, from Hongkong per s.s. *Belgic*, Rev. J. V. N. Talmage, D.D., and family, of the Reformed Church Mission, Amoy. Also Miss M. Noyes, American Presbyterian Mission, Canton, for U.S.A.

On May 11th, from Shanghai, Rev. H. Blodgett, D.D., and Mrs. Blodgett, A.B.C.F. Mission, Peking. Miss D. M. Douw, American Presbyterian Mission, Peking, and Miss N. Diament, A. B. C. F. Mission, Kalgan, for the United States. Home addresses:—Rev. H. Blodgett, D.D., Buckport, Maine. Miss D. M. Douw, 125 State Street, Albany, New York. Miss N. Diament, Cedarville, New Jersey.

Per s.s. *Hiroshima Maru*, on the 15th June, Rev. J. and Mrs. Butler and two children for the United States. Home address:— Milroy, Mifflin Co., Pa., U.S.A.

Per s.s. *Tokio Maru*, on the 23rd June, Rev. and Mrs. H. C. DuBose and three children for the U.S. Home address—Talladega, Alabama.

Per s.s. *Hiroshima Maru* on June

15th, the Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Pyke of the M. E. Mission (North) for San Francisco.

Per M. M. Co.'s s.s. *Sindh*, on the 24th June, Mr. and Mrs. J. Willamson and two children of Chefoo, and Mr. and Mrs. James and one child of Taiyuenfoo, all of the China Inland Mission, for Marseilles. Mr. and Mrs. James have severed their connection with the Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Williamson hope to return. Their home address :—No. 7, Rossie street, Arbroth, Forfarshire, Scotland.

Per s.s. *Genkai Maru*, for San Francisco Mr. Henry Soltau, of the Inland Mission.

Per M. M. Co.'s s.s. *Irawaddy*, on June 18th, Mr. Stevenson, of the Inland Mission, for Singapore.

Per s.s. *Glaucus*, on the 26th June, Mrs. Archibald, wife of Mr. Archibald, colporteur of the Scottish National Bible Society.

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SHANGHAI.—Rev. Young J. Allen, D.D., LL.D., of the American M. E. Mission (South) has lately received from America the appointment of superintendent of the above mission in China. In consequence of this he has given the required six months' notice to the Chinese Government that he will resign his connection with the literary department of the Kiangnan Arsenal.

We learn that Oberlin College, U.S.A., is to open a mission under the direction of the American Board in Shansi Province. The first deputation is expected in the Autumn.—*Temperance Union.*

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SOOCHOW.—A proclamation has lately been issued by the District Governor warning the public not to molest the missionaries or the natives living at their chapels or school-houses. It has had the effect of stopping some of the abusive language so freely indulged in by the inhabitants of that city towards missionaries or their native assistants.

The Rev. A. Sydenstricker, of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, expects soon to remove from Hangchow to Soochow to fill the place of the Rev. H. C. Du Bose, who has gone home on leave.

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HANGCHOW.—Rev. M. H. Houston, wife and children, of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, Hangchow, returned to China, by the *Nagoya Maru*, on the 23rd June. We are glad to learn that Mr. Houston's health is much improved by his six years' furlough.

R. B. Fishburne, Esq., M.D., arrived in China by the s.s. *Nagoya Maru*, on the 23rd June. He comes under the auspices of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, and we understand, intends opening a dispensary at Hangchow, where this mission has had faithful laborers for many years past.

The Church Missionary Society has added to their number already located at Hangchow. Rev. C. B. Nash arrived from England during June; and Dr. MacFarlane, late of Ichang, has been appointed to take temporary charge of the Opium Hospital and dispensary carried on by the above mission.

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NINGPO.—An Academy or High-school has lately been commenced by the native Christians connected with the Presbyterian Mission. It

is under the control of the Presbytery, which appoints the principal and his assistants, and arranges the curriculum of studies. The interest of the native Christians in the school is shown by their liberal contributions towards getting it opened and keeping it in operation. Those whose circumstances allowed gave donations of money. One man gave $80, another $60, and so on down to sums of one dollar or less. Several native gentlemen, not Christians, but who take an interest in the school, have contributed towards starting it. The Christians who were too poor to give money gave materials for furniture or clothing, and some gave their time to prepare these articles for use. Farmers gave contributions of cotton. The women spun and wove it into clothing or materials for bedding as their donation; others gave wood or bamboo to make into tables, chairs and bed-steads. The interest in the school seems to arise out of the fact that it is a purely native affair, controlled and supported by them. The foreign missionaries are in full accord with the natives in this enterprise, and both rejoice together over the success of what seems to be a very promising institution, and an entirely new departure in their mission work. There are at present 32 boys in the school, half of whom are boarders. The theory of the school is that each scholar shall pay all his expenses, but there is room left for aiding promising boys of poor Christian parents, who are unable to bear the expenses of schooling their sons. The curriculum of studies consists of the Chinese Classics, Christian Scriptures and books, geography, mathematics, vocal music, and English.

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KIUKIANG.—Dr. Gilchrist, arrived by the s.s. *Nagoya Maru* on the 23rd June, to be associated with Dr. Kate Bushnell of Kiukiang. Both these young ladies are under the Women's Union Mission.

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HANKOW.—Rev. Griffith and Mrs. John of the London Mission, Hankow, are, we understand, expected out again during the Autumn. On Sunday, March 20th, Mr. John preached in New York city.

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CHEFOO.—The Rev. J. A. Leyenberger favors us with the following interesting item, dated May 26th:—"I have just returned from a visit to the stations in the interior of the province. The interest reported last year continues unabated; the number of inquirers is on the increase, and the Gospel is spreading into new districts. Sixty-four persons were baptized in the district of Shin-kwang, where formerly there were but few church members. The same is true of the district of I-swe, where forty-three new converts were baptized. During the Spring two hundred and thirteen (213) adults have been baptized by Mr. Corbett and myself. The new converts are everywhere bitterly opposed and persecuted, but their firmness in bearing up under these petty annoyances is worthy of all praise."

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FOOCHOW.—At a meeting held at the British Consulate on Monday,

the 2nd May, a Board of Trustees for the Anglo-Chinese College, was organized, consisting of the following persons:—Messrs. C. A. Sinclair, Messrs. J. C. A. Wingate and Alex. Leith, Rev. C. Hartwell, Messrs. Tiong A. Hok, Dr. H. T. Whitney, Rev. N. Sites, Rev. F. Ohlinger, and Rev. D. W. Chandler. H.B.M.'s Consul, Mr. C. A. Sinclair, was appointed temporary chairman, and Rev. D. W. Chandler as temporary secretary. A draft for the constitution of the College was read by the chairman and commented upon and explained in full. Messrs. Sites, Ohlinger and Chandler gave an account of the origin, growth and prospects of this College enterprise; and an understanding was effected as to the character of the institution and the powers and functions of the Board of Trustees. The Board then proceeded to the election of permanent officers with the following result:—President of the Board, Mr. C. A. Sinclair; Treasurer, Mr. Alex. Leith; Secretary, Rev. D. Chandler; Executive Committee, Mr. J. C. A. Wingate, Mr. Tiong A. Hok, Dr. H. T. Whitney, and Rev. N. Sites; President of the College, Rev. F. Ohlinger. After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting adjourned. While this enterprise was begun and will be carried on to a large extent by the American M. E. Mission the constitution is entirely non-sectarian in character. It will be, as a matter of course, under Christian influences; but non-Christian as well as Christian Chinese youth are admitted and no coercion is used with regard to religious belief. There are now nearly forty students in the preparatory department, all providing for their own support and paying a reasonable matriculation fee and quarterly tuition. The students are temporarily accommodated so far as school rooms are concerned in the M. E. Mission compound. It is believed that the number of students could be largely increased if the accommodations were such as warrant a general advertisement of the College. It is hoped in due time to make permanent arrangements for accommodation of students when, with an increase of instructors, the College will be prepared to admit as many properly qualified students as may apply. The preparatory course will be followed by an academical or a classical course as the student selects, and these again by a professional course for such as desire to fit themselves for the learned profession. It should be understood that this College gives a training in the Chinese Classics as well as in the usual English branches. A mandarin teacher is engaged and it is expected that the course in Chinese will keep pace with that in English.—*Foochow Herald.*

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HONGKONG.—Rev. J. Chalmers, D.D., who left Hongkong for England in May last, was presented with a *souvenir* in the shape of a purse of sovereigns by his friends connected with Union Church. A present was also made to Mrs. Chalmers. This was a pleasant recognition of Dr. Chalmers' services at the Church, to which he has long given attention in addition to his duties as a member of the London Mission.

SIAM.—We learn that the work at Chiengmai is prospering, a decided awakening being apparent. A school building is sadly needed, and efforts are being made to supply this want. Rev. J. N. and Mrs. Culbertson of the American Presbyterian Mission left the field during the latter end of April and returned home by the P. M. S. Co.'s s.s. *Peking*, which left Hongkong, on May 16th. Mr. McGilvery, of the same mission, left for a visit home on the 25th April.

AMERICA.—S. W. Williams, LL.D., has lately been elected President of the American Bible Society.

The accompanying table of statistics of missions in China has been sent to us from the office of the National Baptist, Philadelphia, U.S.A. It was compiled by the Rev. Frank S. Dobbins. There are 34 medical missionaries, 16 hospitals, and 24 dispensaries in China; and some 75 boarding-schools, and 23 theological schools connected with the missions :—

STATISTICAL TABLES.

SOCIETY.	Ordained Missionaries.	Lay Missionaries.	Female Missionaries.	Native Preachers.	Other Native Helpers.	Churches.	Communicants.	Schools.	Scholars.	Stations.	Outposts.
AMERICAN.											
American Baptist Missionary Union	9	----	15	31	----	10	1,001	9	146	10	37
Southern Baptist	4	----	8	2	17	5	396	8	253	4	3
Seventh Day Baptist	1	----	2	1	3	----	19	----	------	1	----
American Board Commissioners Foreign Missions	19	3	31	2	63	25	810	14	295	9	31
Protestant Episcopal	7	3	6	6	31	----	821	35	705	7	17
Methodist Episcopal, North	13	1	23	86	16	----	1,559	25	380	4	83
Methodist Episcopal, South	4	----	4	5	7	2	98	3	44	2	4
Presbyterian, North	22	2	32	16	102	----	1,784	----	1,096	10	6
Presbyterian, South	4	----	6	----	----	----	37	12	233	2	----
Reformed Dutch	4	----	6	3	21	7	686	8	149	1	18
Woman's Union	----	----	3	----	----	----	------	2	40	----	----
CONTINENTAL.											
Basel Mission	14	----	10	----	----	12	1,245	11	342	4	16
Rhenish Mission	4	----	----	----	----	----	900	11	230	5	11
Berlin Ladies' Society	----	----	4	----	----	----	------	----	------	----	----
BIBLE SOCIETIES.											
American Bible Society	1	2	----	----	----	----	------	----	------	3	----
British and Foreign Bible Society	2	----	----	----	----	----	------	----	------	1	----
National Bible Society of Scotland	1	4	----	----	----	----	------	----	------	----	----
BRITISH.											
Baptist Mission Society	3	----	----	----	7	19	480	----	------	6	13
China Inland Mission	58	----	40	----	100	----	1,000	7	78	26	44
Church of England Mission Society	20	3	1	7	180	----	1,345	36	824	12	120
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	2	----	----	----	----	----	------	----	------	1	----
London Mission Society	21	----	18	8	54	----	2,886	24	658	10	50
Methodist, New Connection Missions	5	----	----	----	39	----	902	7	100	3	30
United Methodist Free Missions	3	----	----	----	12	3	179	4	49	3	8
Wesleyan Mission Society	16	----	----	----	29	----	353	13	445	9	9
Canada Presbyterian Church Mission	2	----	2	----	----	----	147	5	85	1	11
English Presbyterian Church Mission	12	4	12	64	----	14	2,228	20	239	16	60
Irish Presbyterian Church Mission	2	----	2	----	3	----	31	2	81	2	8
Scotch United Presbyterian Mission	3	1	2	----	20	----	100	3	90	3	2
Society for Female Education in the East	----	----	4	----	----	----	------	----	------	----	----
Unconnected	3	----	1	----	----	----	------	2	23	----	----
Total	241	23	232	230	704	----	18,516	261	6,485	165	576
Total Missionaries				496							
Excluding Wives				357							

Notices of Recent Publications.

Report of the Peking Hospital, for the years 1878-79.

THIS Report of 58 pages is full of interesting details of medical and missionary work during the two years concerning which it reports. The matter is of great variety. It gives abundant evidence of the immense influence for good, which a well-conducted missionary hospital in the imperial capital has the opportunity of exerting upon all classes of people. It often brings Western science and the Christian religion to the consideration of those high in authority. It confers blessing alike upon the lordly and the humble. It is to be hoped that the effort to do something for the blind, who are so numerous in all parts of China, may prepare the way and encourage the adoption of some well-matured plan to benefit this afflicted class. It is to be hoped also that the knowledge of such efforts and their success may lead the government to do something by government grants for the benefit of this numerous class of the people. It is to be regretted that this very useful institution in Peking is hindered in its beneficent work by a debt of 1273 taels. We would call attention to the fact that not only can contributions be sent directly to Peking, but that the Rev. W. Muirhead will receive any monies for this object in Shanghai.

Report of the Medical Missionary Society in China, for the year 1880.

THIS Society is located at Canton and the medical work of its agents is carried on in that and in some of the sunounding districts. The Report is mainly occupied with the labors in the Hospital at Canton under the care of Dr. Kerr. The attendance of patients has been large. The operations have been numerous and successful. Some of them have been very unusual and important in their character. We must refer all interested in such details to the Report itself. The opportunities for evangelistic work have been exceedingly good. The attendance of 16,880 outdoor patients has given the opportunity of preaching the Gospel to a large number, some of whom are from long distances in the country where no preaching is yet enjoyed by the people. But a still better opportunity of making known the Way of Salvation is enjoyed among the 1,121 indoor patients spending, as they do, from three weeks to three months in the Hospital, and having the opportunity of attending prayers with instruction in the Gospel mornings and evenings as well as on the Sabbath. The number of those received into connection with the church shows these instructions are not without the promised blessing of converting grace. These hundreds of people who, year after year, receive temporal and spiritual benefit from

coming to the Hospital, when they return home, carry with them not only a grateful feeling for the bodily relief they have received, but also some knowledge of the Great Physician who came to seek and to save the lost. Instances are known, where some who thus heard the Gospel in the Hospital, years afterwards came into connection with some church that had been established in the vicinity of their home. And these facts justify us in the supposition that many of those who have enjoyed these advantages will find a place in the Church above who never came into connection with any church on the earth. The finances are in a most favorable state, as $1,768 are reported in hand for the expenses of the current year. The liberality with which it is supported by the community of Canton, both Chinese and Foreign, testifies to the confidence of the community in the physician in charge and their appreciation of the benefits conferred by the institution.

Report of the Medical Missionary Hospital at Swatow in connection with the Presbyterian Church of England for 1880.

THE peculiarity of the Report of this Hospital as different from the reports of other like institutions is this. The number of indoor patients is greater than the outdoor patients. This arises from the fact that it is located in a village, and not in a populous city as most other missionary hospitals are. The Report gives the usual details of the diseases treated and the operations performed. The indoor patients were 2,403 as compared with 1346 out-patients. This large attendance of in-patients gives special advantages for evangelistic work in connection with this medical work. This is not only during their residence in the Hospital, but more especially in connection with their work in the country. As the mission has stations in nearly all the district cities of the Chinchow department and in many villages, these patients on their return to their several homes in many cases find chapels in their neighborhoods where they can attend service on the Sabbath and meet, from time to time, the same missionary at these chapels whom they saw and heard in the Hospital. The accounts which they give to their fellow villagers of the kindness received at the Hospital, and the benefit they derived from the medical treatment remove prejudices from the minds of the people, and prepares them to listen to the preaching of the Gospel in the various Chapels in the country. The effect of the Hospital is to help the work of evangelization throughout the whole extent of their stations, and from these stations serious cases of illness are recommended to the Hospital. The Hospital has a large sum in hand towards the expenses of the current year. This fact shows that it is liberally supported by the Foreign community resident at Swatow. The facts stated in these three reports are calculated to impress upon every one the influence for good which is exerted by the 29 missionary Hospitals in different parts of China.

THE

FOLLOWING WORKS

MAY BE OBTAINED AT THE

AM. PRESBYTERIAN MISSION PRESS.

Shang-ti in the Classics		$ 1.00
Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language	*S. Wells Williams.*	15.00
Stent's Vocabulary	*G. C. Stent.*	6.00
Vocabulary and Hand Book of the Chinese Language, 2 Vols.	*Justus Doolittle.*	9.00
Do. of the Ningpo Dialect	*W. T. Morrison.*	8.00
Do. Do. Cheap Edition	"	2.50
Chinese Reader's Manual	*W. F. Mayers.*	3.00
The Chinese Government	"	3.00
A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius	*P. Faber*, translated by *P. G. von Moellendorf.*	2.00
Collection of Chinese Proverbs (paper cover)	*W. Scarborough.*	1.00
Grammar Mandarin Dialect.	*J. Edkins.*	5.00
Whewell's Mechanics (Translation)	"	1.00
Grammar Shanghai Dialect	"	4.00
Vocabulary of Shanghai Dialect	"	2.50
Practical Arithmetic	*C. W. Mateer.*	1.00
First Lessons in Chinese. Shanghai Colloquial, Bound	*M. T. Yates.*	3.50
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Chinese Materia Medica	"	3.00
Elements of Chemistry, 4 Vols. (Chinese)	*J. G. Kerr.*	1.25
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Life of Christ,	"	1.00
Missionary Enterprise	"	.20

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